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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 205



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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE URGES OPPOSITION TO BOTH 'LEFT', RIGHT

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 May 81 p 1

[Article: Oppose Mistaken Tendencies, Uphold the Four Basic Principles"]

[Text] Some comrades believe that stressing the upholding of the Four Basic Principles is the first order in opposing the right. This notion is incomplete. There is part of the "left" as well as of the right which opposes the Four Basic Principles. In upholding the Four Basic Principles we must see to it that we prevent, correct, and oppose these two mistaken tendencies.

The roots of the mistaken ideology of the "left" run deep. We cannot underestimate the danger that the ideological influence of the "left" poses to our work. Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the entire party has launched a discussion of practice as the criterion for testing truth, has fostered socialist democracy, has gradually perfected the socialist legal system, and has established the correct ideological, political, and organizational line. The 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee started from the national conditions of China and established a series of new principles and policies. But up to now some comrades, including some leading cadre party members, have incorrectly believed that the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was rightist, and that the Central Work Committee of the party which met last December corrected the "leanings" of the 3d Plenum. What has brought about this mistaken understanding? The ideological influence of the "left" is one important reason. "Leftist" thinking is not only manifested in the area of economic work, but is manifested in every area. Having worked and lived for a long period under the guiding ideology of the "left," some people have become accustomed to "leftist" things and always feel that "left" is better than right. They can't understand some of the principles and policies established since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee and believe them to be "not complete enough." They believe that emancipation of the mind has "gone too far," and that the call for emancipation of the mind comes from the right, and they can't get used to the system of fixed responsibility and to the rural market trade, and are half in doubt about the principle of material benefit and the reform of the economic system. They do not understand distribution according to work, the system of rewards, and so on. It can be seen from this that emphasizing the cleaning up and correcting of the influence of "leftist" tendencies on guiding ideology remains one of the great tasks in the emancipation of our minds. Only by cleaning up the ideological influence of the "left" can we maintain political uniformity with the Central Committee of the

CCP, resolutely and thoroughly carry out the line, principles, and policies established since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, and consciously uphold and protect the Four Basic Principles.

Correcting the things of the "left" is not the same as solving the entire problem. At the same time we must solve the problem of the right. The Third Plenum began raising the slogan of emancipation of the mind in light of the "two whatevers." The main point was to criticize the "left," but criticizing the "left" brought forth the right. Part of the people in society, including part of the youth, mistakenly believe that emancipation of the mind and fostering of democracy is an unwanted restraint, that they can do without party leadership and the policies and legal system of the nation. They wish to do whatever they like, even to the extent of stirring up the line of the "Great Cultural Revolution." Some people go so far as to destroy the proper production, work and social orders. This is an ideological tide of individualism, anarchism, and bourgeois liberalization. This ideological tide tends politically not to trust party leadership and not to believe in the superiority of the socialist system, and tends ideologically not to believe in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This ideological tide which doubts, violates, and opposes the Four Basic Principles still exists today; the so-called speech of those who mistakenly want to break out of the "restraining framework" of the Four Basic Principles, who believe that socialism is not as good as capitalism, and who advocate bourgeois liberalization is the concrete manifestation of this. Of course, the majority of the people who speak this way belong in the category of those with problems of ideological understanding and we should enlighten them through rational persuasion. In regard to those whose speech maligns and attacks the Four Basic Principles, spreads hostility toward socialism, and is hostile to the leadership of the party, those who sow discord for private ends, we certainly must thoroughly expose and attack them.

What is to the "left" we oppose, what is to the right we oppose. This is an important principle in our party's struggle to counter such tendencies. At present, the interference of the right and the influence of the "left" both obstruct the thorough implementation of the line, principles and policies of the party. In upholding the Four Basic Principles we should oppose both right and "left" and carry out a struggle on two fronts. While clearing away the ideological influence of the "left," we cannot treat lightly the problem of the right. While solving certain problems of the right, we cannot ignore the ideological influence of the "left." In opposing mistaken tendencies we must use the Four Basic Principles as our weapon. We cannot use the "left" to oppose the right and use the right to oppose the "left." In each unit and department we must still steadfastly analyze concrete problems. Because the problems are different, the ways they are manifested are different, and the causes are different, therefore it is only by starting from actual conditions that we can solve problems. We cannot attack all with the same knife. Of course, starting from actual conditions and "opposing what is there" cannot become starting from our own particular needs and "each taking what he needs."

9705

CSO: 4005/686

PARTY AND STATE

OPPOSE LEFTISM, RIGHTISM IN SUPPORTING FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 14 May 81 p 3

[Article by Lo Mufa [5012 2606 3127]: "Support of the Four Basic Principles Is the Most Important Mission in Ideological Work"]

[Text] The four basic principles are the scientific summation of our country's decades of historical experience in revolution and national reconstruction. They are the political foundation of the united struggle for victory of the people of all ethnic groups throughout the country. Resolute, correct support of the four basic principles and overcoming "leftist" and rightist incorrect tendencies are the most important missions in ideological and political work which the party faces at present and will face over the long term.

In the past 30 years of national reconstruction, "leftist" errors have been the main errors in the guiding ideology of the party. No matter whether ideologically, politically, organizationally or in various other domains, all areas show the influence of leftist ideology, with its broad scope, long duration and deep roots. The majority of cadres have had their life and work directed for a long time by this principal error, while passing through continual waves of anti-rightist activity. Comrades in the central leadership have pointed out that the influence of "leftist" ideology among our cadres is not a question of whether they have it or not, but a question of how much, how deep and how soon or late they became aware of it. This tallies completely with the actual situation. Although the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Plenums of the [11th] Party Central Committee, and even the recent central work conference have consistently and repeatedly corrected all types of "leftist" errors, and moreover have achieved visible results in practical work. In addition, the acute attention of the people has already been attracted by the influence of "leftist" errors. We are ceaselessly trying to correct them. Yet, many comrades are still not thoroughly aware of their errors, for example on such important questions as how to view and cope with conditions since the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee, how to evaluate Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, how to apprehend the policies of the party line, how to understand the changes in party and national personnel, and how to support and improve the party leadership, and strengthen and better political work. These comrades always like to use the "theory of continuing revolution" and "looking on everything in terms of the two whatevers" as standards of correctness. They feel torn and find things difficult to accept. This is because "leftism" has long become the style

of thought and the criterion of action for many people. It has become a kind of habitual force which has great inertia. As Lenin said, "The force of habit of millions of people is the most frightening force." This "leftist" force of habit has really reached a most fearful level. It is the principal obstacle now facing the support of the four basic principles and a thorough implementation of the correct line, principles and policies undertaken since the Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee.

The Third Plenum of the Party Central Committee promoted the principle of emancipation of thought. At that time the principal focus was on the struggle between the two whatevers and the emphasis was absolutely "leftist." This was an important historical turning point and was entirely correct and necessary. But there is an extremely small number of people who still distort the party's principle of emancipation of thought and who have let loose in society a rightist tide of thought which opposes and denies the four basic principles. Some of these people doubt the superiority of the socialist system, deny the necessity of the people's democratic dictatorship and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and scheme to weaken, pull away from, nullify and oppose the party leadership, and to seriously shake the leadership position of Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought in this new historical period. Some of them use the name of searching for truth to judge the grand revolutionary slogans and defame the principles of Marxism. Some use the name of studying foreign countries to prettify capitalism and to enjoy and pursue the style of life and thought of the bourgeois class. Some take the name of correcting mistakes to over-correct things, to deny everything and disseminate a national nihilism. Some take the name of promoting democracy to disdain the socialist system of law, to pursue capitalist liberalization, and promote anarchism. All of these types, although their numbers are few and their scope is small, have had a very corrosive effect on the character of society, and on security and unity. They are a dangerous factor which has damaged support for the four basic principles and the thorough implementation of the party line, principles and policy.

Starting from the actual conditions of the political and ideological line, we should first make a great effort to bring "leftist" ideology into line and to eliminate the influence of leftist errors. This is because "leftist" ideology not only deludes people, it is also very stubborn. The so-called principle danger throughout the historical period of socialism is rightism and it must be opposed constantly. Rightism is a problem of standpoint; "leftism" is a problem of method. The many ways of saying "leftism" is better than rightism have been formed into a theory to advocate and protect "leftism" in the past 20 some years in the life of our party. Fostered by this kind of theory some people always take "leftism" as glorious, as revolutionary—the more left the better. This is the first kind of problem. A second is that the erroneous ideology of "leftism" has its own deep social and historical roots. Our country has a large mass of people from the petty bourgeois class, the majority of party members have petty bourgeois class origins. Their ideological methods reveal subjectivism, one-sidedness and over-zealousness. They continually take fantasy for fact and possibility for practicality. They easily develop an affection for "leftism" and accept "leftist" ideology. This has been an extremely important factor as to why our party has committed so many major leftist errors in its history. If we don't completely discredit this "leftist" ideological theory then one day, given the right conditions, this "leftist" disease will

develop again. The third problem is that among the ranks of all our cadres and especially among leading cadres, the influence of "leftist" ideology is still important. These cadres are the backbone strength behind the establishment, mastery and complete implementation of the party line, principles and policy, and if the "leftist" ideology in their minds is not eliminated, the danger to the party is undoubtedly extremely great. At the same time we must know that to take up "leftism" in order to oppose rightism is ineffective. The result of this must be the more we oppose the more "left" we become and this will cause serious rightism as a result of punishments meted out to the "leftists". For this reason, among the broad masses of cadres and especially among leading cadres, we must conscientiously eliminate "leftist" influence and rectify the ideological line. Only then can Marxist theory and the party's principles and policies be used to make correct judgements and correct the denials of the four basic principles, as well as various other kinds of rightist thought and erroneous tendencies.

While emphasizing the elimination of the influence of "leftist" ideology, we absolutely cannot neglect the correcting of rightist erroneous tendencies. This is because the current tide of rightist thinking directly endangers the stability and unity of the country, and the further realization of political stability is the principal guarantee of further carrying out economic readjustment. Without a stable and united political environment, it is impossible to maintain the normal order of production, work, study and life for the masses, let alone talk about striving together to achieve the four modernizations. Also, because our country is now implementing a policy of opening up, international exchanges will be increasing as time goes on and it will be difficult to avoid importing some bourgeois thinking, culture and style of life. If we don't conscientiously correct the rightist tide of thought which now still involves only a small number of people and has a narrow scope, then it will begin to work as a yeast and a go-between to disseminate the "pollution" brought from abroad which will then spread until it becomes a disaster and causes even greater harm. In particular, it can be seen that the core of rightist thought is extreme bourgeois individualism. Some people in order to reach their individual goals are ultimately blinded by greed, and without respect to means, they act with great recklessness, engage in lawlessness, commit all types of crimes and illegal disorders. As a result, things with a rightist aspect often unite with counterrevolutionary activities and together oppose the party and socialism. This is something we absolutely cannot take lightly.

Since to oppose "leftism" and rightism are two aspects of the important problem of firmly and correctly supporting the four basic principles, we absolutely cannot look on only one aspect and emphasize it while dismissing the other. On this point our party has had profound historical lessons. During the time of the democratic revolution, after opposing the rightist opportunism of Chen Duxiu, left opportunism successively appeared three times. Then, after opposing these three instances of left opportunism, there again appeared the right opportunism of Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614] and Wang Ming [3769 2494]. During the period of socialism, as a result of blindly opposing rightism, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" pushed "leftist" errors to an extreme catastrophe. Now while we are again bringing into line "leftist" ideology and eliminating "leftist" errors, we simply cannot repeat historical errors and oppose "leftism" but not rightism or oppose only rightism, but not "leftism." At the beginning of the war of liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong,

based on the experience and lesson of "leftist" and rightist errors within the party point out: "In opposing "leftist" and rightist tendencies within the party, we must determine policy according to concrete conditions." Now, our party and country is in the midst of a period of great historical change of replacing the old with the new while carrying on the revolution and paving the way for future generations. What are the concrete conditions of this period? They are: On the one hand, there is the difficulty of making progress due to the extreme problems brought on by 10 disastrous years, while on the other, there are the favorable conditions and rapid development carried out under the guidance of the correct line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. On the one hand, there is the policy of self-reliance in domestic economic reconstruction in which we mainly rely on our efforts to realize the four modernizations, while on the other we must broaden our international relations to compete for aid from friendly countries while constantly developing a united front to oppose international hegemonism. Under these conditions we must oppose rightism and also oppose "leftism," and while mainly overcoming one tendency at the same time overcome another different tendency, and while paying attention to avoiding one kind of trend we must cover up another kind of trend, moving from one extreme to the other.

No matter whether opposing "leftism" or rightism, we are talking about the erroneous tendencies in the guiding ideology, and we must specify concretely the particular unit, the problem, and the time period, and then conscientiously and concretely analyze actual conditions and resolve whatever problems exist. We must not arbitrarily attach "leftist" or rightism, acting impulsively and creating ideological chaos. In sum, we must start from the actual situation, and where there is "leftism" oppose "leftism" and where there is rightism oppose rightism, preventing one-sidedness and preventing exaggeration.

9810

CSO: 4005/632

PARTY AND STATE

'FOUR POLITICAL TABOOS' DESCRIBED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Shu Xian [2611 0341]: "Four Taboos in Upholding the Four Basic Principles"]

[Text] Upholding the four basic principles is a vital problem on which hinges the future and destiny of our Party and state. However, in order to truly uphold the four basic principles in every job, a correct stand, viewpoint and method must be maintained. In addition, we must possess the selfless and fearless revolutionary spirit, and be able to avoid the four political taboos. These taboos are:

First, "leftsightedness" must be avoided. Because we have always worked and lived for more than 20 years under the "leftist" guiding ideology, some comrades are still accustomed to see problems from the "leftist" viewpoint. They frequently set the party line, guiding principles and policies put in force since the conclusion of the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee against the four basic principles; and complain that the [national] policies are full of "erroneous tendency" and "rightist deviation." These comrades do not condemn the fact that they have never really emancipated their thinking from the "leftist" fetters. Thus, to truly uphold the four basic principles for some of our comrades is tantamount to clearing away conscientiously the influence of the "leftist" ideology upon their thinking on the one hand, and to avoiding by all means to see problems "leftsightedly" on the other.

Second, "weak backing" must be avoided. Some comrades hesitate at disseminating the four basic principles actively, on their own initiative, and with perfect assurance. Furthermore, they do not bother to educate or curb the words and deeds negating or running counter to the four basic principles. They do not dare to vigorously refute the phenomenon of opposing the four basic principles. This situation mainly and constantly results from the word "fear." There are two aspects with reference to this situation. Firstly, they have not studied sufficiently. They do not really understand the connotation of the four basic principles. They fear that dissemination of the four basic principles is harmful to the emancipation of one's thinking, and that criticism against the erroneous ideology violates the "double hundred" policy. In short, they dread of making a new mistake. And secondly, they are beset with selfish ideas and personal considerations. They are afraid of offending others. Consequently, on the brink of contradiction, they let things drift while knowing perfectly well that they are

wrong. They do not exert themselves in raising their understanding of political theory to a new level. Without overcoming and correcting [the influence of] liberalism, moreover, they cannot change the situation of "weak backing." Of course, it is impossible for them to uphold the four basic principles [under such circumstances].

Third, one-sidedness must be avoided. Each of the four basic principles embodies the ideology of dialectics. In accordance with the new conditions and problems discovered from practice, care must be taken to check a given trend at a given time and another trend at another time. However, some of our comrades are [ideologically] lacking in dialectics. They are used to the doctrine that everything has only one aspect. Accordingly, when a certain aspect of a phenomenon is stressed, its other aspects are cast away easily; and when a given trend is opposed, the leaning toward another trend crops up. For instance, during the campaign against the "two whatevers," some people held that it was not proper to discuss Chairman Mao's magnificent contributions at that time; and when Mao Zedong Thought having been upheld as the guiding ideology of our Party was emphasized, some people mistakenly believed that it was wrong to mention some of Chairman Mao's shortcomings and mistakes. They always complain about the unsettled legal system. They feel that the criterion of right and wrong is ambiguous. They are not aware that they have the "either-or" mentality, and are inclined to go to extremes. They have been impaired by this kind of metaphysical mode of thinking. It can be said with certainty that this one-sidedness is an insurmountable barrier to the upholding of the four basic principles.

Four, ultrapragmatism must be avoided. The upholding of the four basic principles is a serious thing. It requires that we diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought which should be fully digested and be carried out by integrating theory with practice. Nonetheless, some comrades fail to seriously study Marxism-Leninism and remain complacent. As a result, they tend to utilize the four basic principles just to benefit themselves. Those comrades without strong party spirit even tend to take the four basic principles into their own hands and try to carry them out according to a set of principles permitting greater opportunity or liberty to themselves than to other people. Each of these comrades does things in his own "brilliant" scheme. This can also be considered a manifestation of the unhealthy style in the Party's internal and external relations, which must be resolutely checked.

CSO: 4005/717

PARTY AND STATE

LETTER URGES CONFIDENCE IN PARTY LEADERSHIP

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 May 81 p 4

[Article by Wen Liang [2429 0081]]

[Text] Dear Comrade X X:

How are you. In your letter you mentioned the issue regarding individual comrades in your unit who are skeptical of or even negate party leadership because they take note of the fact that our party has made mistakes. I want to put forward some of my own views here for your reference.

There is no need to conceal that our party has made some mistakes in the past, especially such a serious mistake as the "Great Cultural Revolution." In order to draw experiences and lessons from the past, we cannot overlook these mistakes. However, we must not treat these mistakes as isolated, static and one-sided.

We must not take note only of the fact that our party has made some mistakes, but, what is more important is that we must also look at the tremendous successes achieved by the Chinese people under the leadership of the party. Since the Opium War of 1840, the Chinese people have long been subject to willful oppression and devastation of the imperialistic powers. During a period of 100 years, more than 1,000 unequal treaties were signed between the respective governments of old China and various foreign nations. In the face of the danger of subjugation, innumerable people with lofty ideals went around searching for the truth to save the country and the people, yet they failed. It was the Chinese Communist Party which found the sole revolutionary truth of Marxism-Leninism for the seriously distressed Chinese people enabling them to see the hope of their liberation and that of their homeland becoming strong like a blue sky appearing and sweeping away the clouds. It was again the Chinese Communist Party which led the people of the whole country, through bloodshed and carrying out arduous and remarkable struggles, to overthrow the three big mountains and establish the first nation of the people themselves since the beginning of history. It was still the Chinese Communist Party which led the people to found a powerful socialist country with the beginnings of prosperity and ranking with nations of the world on the basis of the extreme poverty of old China and thereby laid a firm and reliable foundation for marching toward the four modernizations. "Without the Communist Party there would not be a new China? is not only a revelation of objective truth, but at the same time, is to a great

extent a condensation of the merits and achievements in our party history. No matter how many mistakes our party has ever made, in the face of its great historical contributions, mistakes can only be regarded as secondary.

We must also take note of the fact that the party has always been able to correct its mistakes by itself. There is no political party in the world which has foresight, therefore, it is impossible for any political party to avoid mistakes. On a semifeudal and semicolonial basis like ours, it is a great and unprecedented undertaking to lead a people which accounts for one-fourth of the world population to explore the path of building socialism. There is no perfect model to follow nor is there integrated experience from which to draw lessons. Obviously, it is very difficult to avoid mistakes and setbacks. After making mistakes, our party has been bold enough openly to expose them, able resolutely to correct them and to formulate new and correct lines, principles and policies to continue to lead the people to make progress. This proves that our party is powerful, reliable and able to shoulder the responsibility of leadership.

What we should take a special note of is that, after the smashing of the "gang of four," our party resolutely has corrected its own mistakes made during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and our party as well as our nation have again turned toward the path leading to resurgence. If anyone negates our party by the reason of the mistakes committed during the "Great Cultural Revolution," he must be either politically ignorant or harbor an ulterior motive.

As a revolutionary, it is more important than ever that one must not lose sight of the responsibility of sharing the party's cares and burdens after catching sight of the mistakes being committed by the party. Only by uniting the entire party and the people of the whole country as one and dedicating hearts and souls to the same cause, can we overcome difficulties and pull through. Imagine, if we did not rely on, but instead were skeptical of and negated the leadership of the party following the failure of the Great Revolution in China, how could we later have had the excellent situation of the armed struggle in the Jinggang Mountains? Following the failure of the fifth campaign against the encirclement and suppression, if we had failed to rely on and to defend the leadership of the party, how could we have convened the Zunyi Meeting to save the party and the Red Army, and later achieved victories both in the War of Resistance against Japan and the War of Liberation? Since the smashing of the "gang of four," if we had failed to strengthen party leadership step by step, how could we have corrected completely the past mistakes and resolutely returned to the correct paths to bring about the lively scene of today? Being a revolutionary and a member of the Communist Party, one must not keep oneself away from the revolutionary ranks and criticize the party, but on the contrary, one must place oneself in the midst of the revolutionary ranks to share the cares and burdens of the party and conscientiously to defend party leadership.

9560

CSO: 4005/653

PARTY AND STATE

DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM OF SPEECH DISCUSSED

Xian SHUANKI EIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 81 p 3

[Commentary by Pan Yupeng [3382 1342 7720] and Song Yachun [1345 7161 5573] "Freedom of Speech Is Not Unlimited"]

[Text] Our citizens have freedom of speech as stipulated in our Constitution. However, there is a minority which mistakenly feels that there are no limits to this freedom and that anyone can express his own differing political views whenever he wishes. This is a distorted and indiscriminate view of freedom of speech.

No freedom is absolute. No freedom is unlimited or unrestrained. "Like a bird in the sky, a fish in the ocean", people often use these words to describe the freedom of the wide world. Nevertheless, speaking scientifically, even the bird on the wing has limits. The sparrow has no freedom to fly the airspace of the oceans and the migratory birds can only fly south and return to the north depending on the established weather changes. Human society is much more complicated than nature. Since man is a social creature, all his demands and words or actions to realize that demand, must create contact of one kind or another with other in the society; then it becomes impossible for there to be the so-called absolute freedom of speech and action. In real life, freedom and the lack of freedom are opposites and yet they complement each other because under any conditions, the freedom to do as one pleases does not exist. A prerequisite of freedom is the lack of some freedoms. Furthermore, if people are to obtain freedom, they must first possess the necessary qualifications. Thus, Engels has said that freedom is acknowledging the inevitability of inevitable knowledge and acting accordingly, only then will there be freedom.

Some feel that the freedom of capitalist nations is absolute. This is a mistaken impression. Strive for democracy, freedom, and equality has always been a slogan of capitalist revolution. It has played a further role in history. However, the freedom advocated by capitalists is on the one hand antifeudal and on the other it is for the expansion of capitalism, i.e., it requires freedom of hartering power for labors, free trade, free competition, etc. In short, this brand of capitalism has the protection of the interests of the capitalist class as its goal. The civil law drawn up following the French capitalist revolution is a flaunted model of the capitalist legal system, but its first stipulation was that "private property is sacred and inviolable." The freedom of capitalist nations can be seen to be one which serves to protect the interests of the capitalist class through legal

regulations. Therefore, the freedom of speech is also not without limits, or constraints. The laws of the United States even stipulate that no one's words can harass society nor can they instigate crime. The fifth stipulation of the basic law of the Federal Republic of Germany states: "Everyone has the right to orally, in writing, or pictorially freely express or disseminate their own will." At the same time it also stipulates: "If anyone misuses the right of free expression... then the aforementioned rights are forfeited." The 10th stipulation in the Constitution of the Federation of Malaysia is even more specific, freedom of speech must be "limited" by "the security of the Federation," "public order or the interests of public morality." From this it can be seen that absolute freedom of speech does not exist in any society.

A socialist society is not the same as a capitalist society. Due to the changes in national character, working people in a socialist system, enjoy full democratic rights and freedom of speech. Providing it benefits the interests of the people and socialist modernization construction, and complies with the four basic principles, then all of the various differing opinions and viewpoints can be expressed by anyone even if there are some inaccuracies in the speech. We must not come down hard on them or indiscriminately put labels on them, we must rely on persuasion and education. There is a connection between not blaming the speaker and the listener taking a warning from his words. It is the principle of opening up criticism to resolve the internal party contradictions with those of the people. The speaker's innocence is directed at the people which is to say those criticized must not retaliate against those criticizing. Therefore, we must not, by quoting out of context, see the speaker's innocence as a reactionary speech which willfully does harm to and attacks the four basic principles or as a defense of the crimes of criminals.

Our freedom of speech must follow socialist laws as a prerequisite. If someone uses freedom of speech to incite the masses to resist or destroy national law, or to incite the overthrow of the socialist system and proletarian political regime, or instigates them to be criminal, this then constitutes a crime and of course must be legally punished. Some feel that to limit freedom of speech within the scope permitted by law is in contradiction with carrying forward democracy. This viewpoint is incorrect. Developing democracy means first of all changing the undemocratic and unscientific atmosphere of taking the masses as fools, "one person having the say," etc. Furthermore, it means giving full expression to speeches beneficial to socialist construction, the national economy and the people's livelihood through democratic life in legal, party, and state organs. At the same time, it means not allowing those with ulterior motives to make speeches harmful to society or which would incite erroneous thoughts so much so that the truth is twisted, fabrications are perpetrated, democracy suppressed and innocent people framed. Without this being done, the broad masses cannot enjoy true democracy and freedom.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR THEORETICAL STUDY DEFENDED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 May 81 p 1

[Article by Mi Lianyu (4717 6647 7411): "Stress the Guiding Functions of Theoretical Study"]

[Text] At present, some comrades maintain the notion that "theory is useless." This is the undesirable consequence created by the unscientific treatment of Marxism for a long time now, and especially by the confusion of the people's thinking caused by the modern superstitions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It was natural that the people rejected the pseudo-Marxist merchandise of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but believing that study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought is also "useless" is nonetheless incorrect.

We all know of Lenin's famous line: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no strong socialist political party, because revolutionary theory enables all socialists to unite. They draw all their beliefs from revolutionary theory and they can use revolutionary theory to affirm the methods of struggle and the forms of activities." Going over China's modern revolutionary history, from the Opium Wars to the May Fourth Movement, many progressive Chinese struggled and sacrificed, yet could not find an ideological weapon that could resist the foreign enemies and strengthen the nation, and were only able to wander in the darkness. It was only with the arrival of Marxism spread by the October Revolution that the face of the Chinese revolution was renewed. Afterwards, our victories and accomplishments proved the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought; we did at certain times make mistakes and suffer setbacks because we departed from the basic principles and the scientific system of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This is all "old hat," but it truly is the historical experience and is irrefutable truth.

Communist Party members and revolutionaries must stress the study of revolutionary theory because social phenomena are intertwined and complicated. "Only by clear theoretical analysis can the correct path through these intertwined and complicated facts be illuminated." After smashing the "gang of four," the Central Committee of the CCP led our nation's people in quelling chaos and restoring order and in summarizing the lessons of experience. Our party has again returned to the path of Marxism. Our nation has stepped upon the road to revival. But there are some cadres who, in the course of this process, have encountered some ideological confusion. On the one hand, we should admit that it is difficult to avoid errors

in the search for truth, and on the other hand, we must realize that any mistakes are harmful to the undertakings of the people and we must seriously uncover the causes of mistakes. For example, some people attribute the errors of past work and the damage done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to socialism's "insensitivity." First of all this is theoretical nonsense; after we broke out of our isolationism, some people felt the Western bourgeois line to be refreshing and didn't bother to distinguish the good from the bad. They advocated "taking in everything" without any analysis. This is because they lacked the critical spirit of Marxism. This situation proved once again the conclusion of Lenin: "Moving forward along the road of Marxist theory will bring us closer and closer to objective truth (but will not reach the end of it); and moving forward along any other road will gain us nothing except confusion and error."

Some comrades say that it is science and technology that are important in carrying out the present four modernization constructions, as if penetrating study of revolutionary theory is not really necessary. Certainly, the demand for study of political theory should be different for comrades doing different specialized work, but just as Engels said, "A people that wishes to stand at the apex of science cannot for a moment forego consideration of theory." Regardless of the areas of expertise of the cadres, none can ignore politics, none can do without theoretical knowledge. Stalin said it right: "There is no need for a medical expert to be at the same time a physics expert or a botany expert, and the reverse is also true. But there is one area of scientific knowledge that Bolsheviks in all scientific areas must possess and that is the science of Marxism-Leninism concerning society, the laws of social development and the victory of communism." This is a matter of the relationship between politics and occupation, between politics and technology. Once we depart from the standpoint, viewpoints and methods of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, then we cannot firmly maintain the correct political direction, and moreover, lacking the world view of dialectical materialism will inevitably obstruct the development of science and technology.

We are at a crucial turning point in history. There are many problems and a lot of lively thinking. If we wish to resist the interference of various mistaken tendencies, to understand correctly and implement thoroughly the line, principles and policies established since the 3d Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, and to correctly uphold the Four Basic Principles, then we must work hard to firmly grasp Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This has been fully proven by the experience of the last several years. We should raise our consciousness of theoretical study.

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PARTY AND STATE

REPORT STRESSES IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Apr 81 p 1

[Article by staff writer on a report by Sichuan's governor to the Provincial Party Congress: "Governor Lu of Sichuan Stresses Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] Governor Lu Dadong [7627 1129 2639] says that adherence to the four basic principles is required to strengthen political and ideological work, and that the nucleus for this is adherence to the party leadership. When we emphasize elimination of the influence of the "left" we cannot overlook the right and other mistaken ideologies.

In a report on political work at the third meeting of the Fifth Provincial People's Congress, Governor Lu, when speaking of the problem of giving full play to the functional roles of all levels of government, stressed strengthening political and ideological work, and inspiring revolutionary enthusiasm.

He said that adherence to the four basic principles is required to strengthen political and ideological work, and that the nucleus for this is adherence to the party leadership. When we emphasize eliminating the influence of the "left" we cannot overlook the right and other mistaken ideologies. We must clearly criticize, educate, and when necessary even struggle against those mistaken ideologies opposing the four basic principles which exist among a minority of society; against any tendency to try to weaken, eliminate, abolish, or oppose party leadership; and against capitalist liberalization tendencies, anarchism, extreme egoism, etc. We absolutely cannot allow them to spread freely. The ethics and ideology of communism must be heartily spread, recognition given to advanced individuals, and revolutionaries be further inspired. During the revolutionary war, socialist revolution, and socialist construction, the spiritual riches treasured by the people of our nation were: the death-defying and revolutionary spirit throughout the broad masses and cadre; the spirit of self-sacrifice and strict adherence to discipline; the spirit of selflessness and putting others ahead of oneself; the spirit of overthrowing all enemies and difficulties; and the spirit of revolutionary optimism and the elimination of thousands of difficulties in striving for victory. These riches also constitute a part of communist ideology and ethics. It was precisely these spirits which have inspired our nation and produced great strength. These revolutionary spirits are required even more in economic readjustment and the four constructions. Every level of government, every department, every unit must

heighten its awareness of political and ideological work, combine the strengthening of ideological and political work with adherence to the principle of material benefits, carry out thorough political and ideological work aimed at the specific ideas of economic readjustment and reform, and make efforts to search out the special characteristics and patterns of political and ideological work of the new era.

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PARTY AND STATE

WORK CONFERENCE ON INSPECTING PARTY DISCIPLINE HELD

Jiangsu XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 3 May 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline Convenes Provincial Party Conference on Discipline Inspection Work--Continue to Implement the 'Guidelines,' Conscientiously Improve Party Work Style and Party Discipline"]

[Text] The Provincial Party Conference on Discipline Inspection Work, held by the Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline, convened from 11 April to 24 April. It emphasized the need to continue the implementation of the "Guiding Principles for Inner Party Political Life," to conscientiously improve party work style and discipline, to uphold the four basic principles, and to guarantee the thorough implementation and execution of the party's line, principles and policies.

During the conference, Comrade Kang Di transmitted the spirit of the three plenary sessions held by the Central Commission for the Inspection of Discipline, and summed up the conference on behalf of the Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline.

During the conference, Comrade Xu Jiatun came and spoke. Using many important facts, he fully explained that the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee have all been absolutely correct. Under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, all the provinces have achieved remarkable success in implementing the line of the Third Plenum and producing profound changes on all fronts. His speech helped comrades at the conference to deepen their understanding of the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenum of the Central Committee, and furthered everyone's awareness of the need to implement and execute the "Guiding Principles" and to improve party work style and discipline.

It was unanimously recognized that since the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, especially since last year's promulgation of the "Guiding Principles," all levels of provincial discipline commissions and the vast number of discipline inspection cadres under the leadership of provincial commissions and party commissions, have done a great deal of work and have achieved a high degree of success during the process of implementing the "Guiding Principles," rectifying party work style and upholding party discipline. However, the results are still some distance away from the needs and wishes of the party and people. This year, in order to continue the thorough implementation of the "Guiding Principles" and earnestly improve party work style and party discipline, we must get a good grasp on the following four key links:

1. Disseminate propaganda and education in a widespread and thoroughgoing way. We must continue to promote the Third Plenum's line and the four basic principles and use them as key elements in the education of party members. We must, in a planned and organized way, study and promote Comrade Chen Yun's thesis that "The practice of the party in power is related to the life and death of that party," and set up widespread discussions within and without the party to enable everyone to understand the utmost importance of improving the party work style. At all levels of party schools, training classes and life, adherence to the "Guiding Principles" and rectification of party work style should be treated as important daily study subjects. We must fully make use of models, praise good people and good deeds and criticize bad people and bad deeds. Through the spread of propaganda and promotion of education, we must make party comrades deeply understand that good or bad party work style is directly related to the success or failure of the cause of the party. As a consequence, we must endeavor to strengthen party character, insisting on revolutionary benefits as the first life and individual interests subservient to party interests, and carry out unremitting struggle against any wrong words and deeds at all times and under all circumstances.

2. Clearly set forth the key points in present discipline inspection work. Discipline is the guarantee of the [political] line. All levels of discipline commissions and each discipline inspection cadre should take the upholding of the Third Plenum's line, the four basic principles and the guarantee of further economic readjustment and further political stability as key points in present discipline work. We must take initiative to help party organizations under the supervision of party commissions and the entire party membership to continue earnestly the study of the Central Work Conference documents, and to constantly raise one's consciousness on implementing the party's line, principles and policies. We must request that all levels of party organization and each and every party member, especially the party leading cadres, follow the principle of democratic centralization set forth in the party constitution and in the "Guiding Principles," and rally closely around the Party Central Committee, firmly implementing and executing its line, principles and policies, and in all actions obey the decisions of the higher party organizations, especially those of the Party Central Committee. Persons acting contrary to this point must be deemed guilty of political wrongdoing and, in serious cases where reform is not forthcoming, the violator should be turned over to the party for disciplinary action.

3. Leaders at each level should take the lead and be exemplary. All levels of party leading cadres should, according to the stipulations of the party Constitution and "Guiding Principles," seriously demand of themselves that they set a good example in the improvement of party work style and upholding of party discipline, and rectify the unsavory practice within the party. The major responsible comrades of the party commissions must themselves grasp well the establishment of party work style and produce a situation where one level checks on the other to achieve results from top to bottom. We must constantly inspect progress in the implementation of the "Guiding Principles." For key problems which bring strong opinions and relatively strong reactions from the public, we must adopt decisive measures and solve them within a specified time. At the same time, we must fully develop the important role of supervision by the masses, positively develop democracy within and without the party and launch criticism and self-criticism. We must firmly oppose retaliation, and we must not give others "tight shoes to wear". We must give protection and support to those comrades who act for the good of the public and who dare to struggle.

4. Strengthen the building of the discipline inspection ranks. The work of improving party work style, upholding party discipline and correcting unhealthy tendencies within the party is very formidable, and the struggle comparatively difficult. Accordingly, it is necessary for the entire party to join in before there can be fundamental improvement. All levels of discipline commissions must on their own initiative help the party commissions and endeavor to achieve remarkable successes. To achieve this, we must quickly build a sound discipline inspection organization, provide enough discipline inspection cadres and strengthen the building of the discipline inspection ranks. All those comrades involved in party discipline inspection work must firmly bear in mind Comrade Chen Yun's thoughts on discipline commission work. They must seriously study and profoundly understand the spirit of the Central Work Conference and that of the three plenary sessions of the Central Commission for Inspection of Discipline, clearly understand the guiding thoughts of discipline inspection work, the present inspection work's key points and related principles and policies, and insist on thorough investigation and study, understanding new situations and the solution of new problems. In rectifying unhealthy tendencies, thoughts and attitudes must be firm, problems must be handled with prudence. We must also pay attention to work methods aiming only at realistic results. We must fully develop the role of subjective initiative and move unflinchingly toward improvement of party work style on the one hand, and positively coordinate with related departments to strive together to complete the task on the other. Through the study provided by the conference, everyone's ideological understanding was deepened and all unanimously expressed the need get a move on, increase trust, be firm and indomitable, press forward in the face of difficulties and, under the guidance and support of all levels of party commissions, endeavor to complete the glorious mission bestowed upon us by the party and the people and determine to welcome the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party with new and greater achievements.

Those present at the Conference included comrades from the various prefectural, municipal and county commissions, from universities and colleges and from provincial-level organizations and party organization (commissions) and discipline commissions (organizations). There was a total of 315 participants.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEGATIVE THINKING CRITICIZED; YOUTHS ENCOURAGED TO PLAY ROLE IN FUTURE BUILDING

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 May 81 p 3

[Article by Liu Cen [2692 1478]: "An Age of Great Achievement--On Getting Rid of 'Born-At-The-Wrong-Time' Type of Negative Thinking"]

[Text] "Born at the wrong time" is a type of passive thinking which existed among some youths a few years ago and which still influences a few of them today. Therefore, a probe into this problem and taking steps to get rid of this type of passive thinking are not altogether meaningless.

After the shattering of the "gang of four," some youths felt, in retrospect, that the path they had taken had been rough and bumpy and that they had wasted many useful years, resulting in their feeling a sense of loss. Some of the youths felt that having been in time for the Lin Biao and "gang of four" upheaval along with the confused and senseless changes was simply "out of luck." As a result, they sigh deeply, "we were born at the wrong time." Ten years of upheaval did indeed bring a series of serious consequences to the entire society, especially a quite heavy burden to the young generation. New problems arose in the materialistic and the spiritual realms of life. However, in recent years, there has been a great change in the situation. Due to the correct line, guiding principles and policies set forth by the Party Central Committee which rectified "leftist" thinking, the political situation has become more stable and the economic situation has improved each year. The result is that our motherland is finally on the road to national resurgence. Even youths who originally held the idea of being "born at the wrong time" are progressing with the rest of society and gradually weakening that type of passive thinking. The majority of youths can correctly handle temporary difficulties and appear to be imbued with vitality on every front, determined to dedicate their youth to our motherland in the tasks of the four modernizations.

Now, some of the youths' spirits have still not been lifted, their feelings are still downcast, and they still think they were "born at the wrong time." They have no high aspirations and are completely discouraged, even to the extent that they indulge in fatalism and are content to merely drift aimlessly through the days. For these young comrades, the key problem is how they look at the age, reality and the future.

Here, we would like to quote from Comrade Zhou Enlai's speech made to youths during the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan. The Japanese imperialists' aggression against China destroyed the calm life of the Chinese people, brought

calamities and forced tens of thousands of youths to lead an uprooted life and to taste the pains and sorrows of the world. In this case, are these youths still considered to be "born at the wrong time?" Comrade Zhou Enlai, proceeding from reality and with foresight, pointed out: "Our generation of youths should rejoice that it was born right in this period of great upheaval. We must learn to enrich and temper ourselves during this period." He also said, "Our youths not only have today, they also have a bright future. Not only do they control their own lives but also those of their descendants." "In its positive aspects, this is an excellent time. It can train our youths to be greater and make their future even brighter." Comrade Zhou Enlai's discussions are based on Marxism, materialist dialectics, seeking truth from facts and on a revolutionary outlook on life. We may think this over: did many ambitious youths at that time not grow up in the difficult years; and did they not become the pillars of the party, the State and the armed forces?

We must have a realistic attitude toward the 10 years of upheaval and the series of consequences it brought. We cannot treat reality from a fatalistic point of view, otherwise we would not only lose today but also tomorrow. Since we have seen what serious consequences were caused by the 10 years of upheaval and have learned such a profound lesson and know the perils of the "leftist" tendencies, this generation of youths has the responsibility, through plain living and hard struggle, to further lay a sound foundation politically, intellectually and economically for our national development, so that future generations will never again be subjected to such turmoil.

This is the mission that the epoch has bestowed on our youths. "Born at the wrong time" is, in fact, fatalistic thinking. Fatalism only believes in "fate" obeys "fate" and believes that positive efforts to improve the living reality of society are futile. We cannot fall into the snare of this type of fatalism. We must display revolutionary spirit and labor to reconstruct our motherland. We should also recognize that our generation of youths has a great future because of the guidance of the Party, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the guarantees of the socialist system and of the people's democratic dictatorship. The mentality of being "born at the wrong time" possessed by some people is directly related to the lack of revolutionary ideal and to unrealistic notions. Some youths cannot approach problems from a realistic viewpoint but often indulge in reveries. When these cannot be realized, they complain that our age has "wasted their youth." For instance, some youths dream of miracles in national economic construction and hope that within a short period of time the standards of living can be raised tremendously. They even hope to turn into reality the imagined living standard and way of life in the advanced capitalist nations. This idle dream, so remote from reality, and these distracting thoughts, that are not a true reflection of the national conditions, cannot be realized. When these reveries cannot be realized, they then complain that they were "born at the wrong time," and that they must bend to fate. Other youths, influenced by "leftist" thinking, lack a correct assessment of the temporary difficulties caused by the 10 years of upheaval and they even begin to suspect the socialist system. Still other youths poisoned by ultra individualism blame everyone and everything but themselves when their personal interests are not satisfied. Others, infected by the evil legacy of feudalism, may even be a little superstitious and "become disillusioned with the mortal world. Why is it that living in the same age, the majority of youths are full of confidence in their future and in the future of their country while a minority feel that they were "born at the wrong time?" Naturally, we cannot put all the blame on the youths themselves for the rise of such thinking, but, in the analysis of social causes, if the tiny minority can think about their individual reasons, it would, perhaps, prove more effective to overcome this type of thought.

"Born at the wrong time" is a demoralized, dispirited type of thinking. It cannot open up the minds of the youths; it only suppresses their youthful vitality. If we want to keep pace with the times, we must have a revolutionary ideal. This ideal is not calculated in terms of individual gains or losses, but is based on the future of the entire nation and the interests of the people as the starting point and ultimate goal. Only people with ideals can have a firm will, overcome difficulties and setbacks and be filled with confidence in the future. Communism is our long-range ideal; it is our tomorrow. And it is today's struggle that will hasten the coming of tomorrow. The first great march in the realization of this ideal is to transform our country into a modernized socialist one, and youths with ideals are a vital new force in this march. Youths with the "born at the wrong time" mentality think too much about their personal gains, and too little about national interests and they lack revolutionary ideals. Some youths say they work to earn money and live to seek pleasure. They lose sight of the state and future; they only catch sight of their small circle of contacts, their family members, and certain immediate small interests. They are very shortsighted. Other youths are always saying such things as "I give up," and "I'll just drift aimlessly through the days." They are not willing to spend time to learn or to study, but rest content with just muddling through, caring only for immediate pleasures. It is this kind of busy but useless type of "drifting" that is the real cause of the waste of youth.

Young comrades, you are living right in the age of bright prospects and you have a golden opportunity to play an active role. We hope you will think this question over: How not to waste your youth in the 80's but make it one of achievement?

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PARTY AND STATE

EDUCATION OF CADRES IN MARXISM, MAO THOUGHT DISCUSSED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jun 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Enhance the Study of Marxism"]

[Text] Since the party's Third Plenum, the political and economic situations in our province have undergone profound changes. We must attribute the development of this excellent situation to cadres at all levels who have been striving to study conscientiously, understand deeply and implement actively the guidelines of the party's Third Plenum. At present, efforts are being made by cadres at all levels to study the documents on the Central W. 4 Conference, to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology and other erroneous ideas and to improve conscientiously their performances. We must consolidate and develop what we have achieved, implement the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenum in a better way, vigilantly and firmly advance along the line of the Third Plenum. To this end, cadres at all levels must solve the problem of how conscientiously to study the basic theories of Marxism in conjunction with reality.

It is our party's tradition to encourage cadres to step up their theoretical study. This is also an important condition that has led our cause forward to success. Our objective is to build a modern socialist power with high-level democracy and high-level civilization. This is indeed a grand undertaking.

Today, we have reached a turning point or an important stage of history. With the shift in the emphasis of the party's work underway, all departments and fronts face a gigantic task to eliminate chaos and restore order and to weed out the old and bring forth the new. The national economy needs to be readjusted, the ideological and political work among the cadres and people needs to be strengthened and many new situations and new problems need to be studied and solved. Leading bodies at all levels still face a problem of how to keep their thinking in step with the development of the situation, how to eliminate the influence of the "leftist" ideology and other mistaken ideas and how to overcome biased views so that better ways can be found to uphold the four basic principles and further efforts can be made to implement the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenum and to improve the efficiency of leadership. "Without the revolutionary theory, there would have been no revolutionary movements." "If we cannot see far enough, we must use telescopes and microscopes. The Marxist methods are telescopes and microscopes in political and military senses." Therefore, it is important, from the long-range point of view, to raise the theoretical level of cadres, especially those assuming leading positions, and it is necessary and urgent to do so, from the short-term

point of view. Generally speaking, under the influence of the "leftist" ideology and under the disruptive impact of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our cadre contingent has been unable to raise their theoretical level. The thinking process of many comrades is still affected by idealism and metaphysics. This is why their knowledge on economics is scanty, and knowledge on the theory of socialism is almost nil. Devoid of such knowledge, we have gone astray many times and suffered many frustrations. After the socialist transformation was mostly completed, we overplayed our hands on the matter of class struggle, and committed mistakes by escalating such struggle. On the issue of the relation of production to the productive forces, we unreasonably overemphasized its negative role, and incessantly transformed this relationship in violation of the principle that it must develop at a pace at which the productive forces grow. On the economic construction front, we blindly strove for high speed, high quotas, and high accumulation of funds without taking into account the objective conditions and the people's needs and in violation of objective economic laws. Apart from the social factors and the malfeasance of the leadership, these mistakes resulted from our failure to raise the level of Marxism on the theoretical front. This can prevent our thinking in the theoretical field, our ways of thinking and practice in work from deviating from the basic principles of seeking truth from facts and practice being the sole criterion for testing the truth, and from interpreting everything in unilateral and absolute terms.

Although, since the launching of the discussion on the criterion of truth and especially since the party's Third Plenum, many comrades have deepened their understanding of the mistakes we committed in the past and have raised their awareness of the danger resulting from the interpretation of ideas in unilateral and absolute terms. It cannot be said that the problem of sharp contradictions between the two ideological lines--subjective idealism and dialectical materialism--has been resolved once and for all. Some comrades still prefer the "leftist" criterion for distinguishing right from wrong, and favor the old ways of life. They even take a skeptical and negative attitude toward the line, principles and policies of the Third Plenum and exhibit a lack of confidence in practical work. For example, even today no bold steps have been taken by some localities in the countryside to enforce the system of responsibility for production that serves the real interests there. They cannot distinguish socialism from capitalism or egalitarianism, and have exhibited a lack of firmness in their thinking. To some of them, the emphasis on the need to strengthen the leadership means adding new regulations to the old ones and the emphasis on the need to proceed from reality and to respect the wishes of the masses means abandoning the leadership. Shortly after denouncing the "two whatevers" and ossified ideas, some comrades have gone to another extreme of persuasion by producing another one-sided view and by showing a wavering attitude toward the basic problem of upholding and defending the four basic principles. For example, when the autocratic political system pushed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was denounced by us, some comrades slackened their efforts to provide leadership, and showed hesitation to uphold the principle of democratic centralism. Once centralism was emphasized, they restored the one-man rule and went all the way back to the old road. On the issue of relationship between consciousness and matter, some comrades discarded their original belief in the "omnipotent spirit" and became the worshipers of "money that talks", and in this way, they toned down or even abolished the ideological and political work. But when they went the other way around, they always preferred to do something at the expense of workers. In short, this shift from one extreme of persuasion to another and this tendency to pit one-sided views

against other one-sided views reveal a lack of basic training in Marxist ideology and theory and a lack of foundation in terms of theory and practice and their coordination. We must thoroughly correct the "leftist" and other mistakes, overcome one-sidedness, avoid interpreting things in absolute terms, observe and analyze things objectively and dialectically and roundly and correctly implement the party's line, principles and policies. To this end, we must undergo basic ideological and theoretical training, lay a groundwork in this field and learn to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to analyze and solve problems. This is the only option open to us.

Marxism is a comprehensive scientific system. In order to raise our ideological and theoretical levels, we must study the three aspects that form Marxism. All cadres able to study theory must study the Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. At present, cadres at all levels devote themselves to the study on economics in conjunction with the readjustment of the national economy. They must continue to grasp this work well. At the same time, they must promote the study of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Mao Zedong's works on philosophy such as "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" as well as his other works "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," and "On Protracted War." "On Contradiction" and "On Practice" are two immortal philosophical works by Comrade Mao Zedong while "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War" and other works are his immortal military as well as philosophical works, all of which deserve our conscientious study and deep appreciation. In addition, classes must be organized to study the Marxist theory of scientific socialism. Young cadres in particular should be organized to study the history of the party so that they can arrive at a correct understanding of the laws governing the development of society and of the glorious but tortuous road traversed by our party, uphold the four basic principles and strengthen their conviction in final victory, and tirelessly struggle for the cause of the party. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "As for education of the cadres whether at work or in schools for cadres, a policy should be established of focusing such education on the study of the practical problems of the Chinese revolution and using the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide, and the method of studying Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation should be discarded." Engels also taught us this famous lesson: "The best way to clearly understand theory can be found by learning from one's own mistakes and painful personal experiences." Over the past 30 years following the founding of new China, we have had successful experiences and have learned lessons from tasting frustrations. Many cadres also have had both positive and negative experiences in practice, which provide them with a favorable condition for studying theory successfully. It is important to integrate theory with practice and avoid senseless talking. Our study program should be executed in a way that takes into account the current situation in our country, realities in specific localities, departments and units and what the people have in mind with regard to work. Efforts must be made to settle accounts with the influence of the "leftist" ideology and other mistaken ideas, to study the current situation and solve problems. In organizing study classes, party schools at all levels and training classes for cadres must continue to manage all their training programs well. We must do everything possible to squeeze time for in-service cadres to fulfill their study. Whatever learning method we adopt, we must emphasize the self-study program, encourage cadres conscientiously to read original Marxist works and put stress on the results of study.

In 1938, in his report to the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Ours is the task of leading a great nation of several hundred million in a great and unprecedented struggle. For us, therefore, the spreading and deepening of the study of Marxism-Leninism present a big problem demanding an early solution which is possible only through a concentrated effort. Following this plenary session of the Central Committee, I hope to see an all-party emulation in study which will show who have really learned something and who have learned more and better." The subsequent rectification campaign launched in 1942 was a thorough-going Marxist education movement which ensured a nationwide victory for the democratic revolution on the ideological, political and organisational fronts. Although the situation and tasks we face today, are no longer the same, they converge, however, at the same turning point in the revolution. Another similarity is that the present effort to spread and deepen the study of Marxism presents almost the same big problem as before. This problem also demands an early solution which is possible only through a concentrated effort. Let us launch an emulation drive in study so as to see who can learn more and better!

9574

CSO: 4005/695

PARTY AND STATE

'DISILLUSIONED WITH MORTAL WORLD' CRITICIZED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 81 p 3

[Article by Wang Gongxi (3769 0501 3588): "Foster a National Spirit, Be Devoted to the Great Cause of Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Fostering a national spirit and exerting to the full the historical initiative and zeal of the broad masses of people for the construction of socialist spiritual civilization is a very arduous undertaking. People are full of confidence about this undertaking because the Chinese nation has a glorious tradition of fighting heroically, industriousness and stamina, and unity in progress; because under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, which has gone through numerous ordeals, we have inherited and developed the splendid culture of the Chinese nation, and laid a sound foundation for the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. However, have the people observed and considered the other side of the issue, namely, that there are still forces obstructing the construction of spiritual civilization? People are pondering, discussing, and some of them worrying. The topic under discussion in this article "disillusioned with the mortal world" is a formidable one. There are not many people who are "disillusioned with the mortal world." Yet, they cause considerable damage to socialist spiritual life.

What does "disillusioned with the mortal world" mean? It means having seen through all the ways of the world. Once having seen through everything, nothing said by other people is worthy of belief. The pet phrase is "that's all there is to it!", from which a series of passive philosophical outlooks is derived, for example, indifference to politics, nihilism in ideals and beliefs, pessimism about the future, contempt for morality and egotism in handling interpersonal relationships. Hence, it can be said that the so-called "all there is to it" is nothing but an interpretation of matters based on the narrow principles of individualism; "disillusion" is simply a summing-up of everything under philistinism. In fact this "mortal world" is not to be "seen through in disillusionment" that easily. For instance, those who proclaim themselves as "disillusionists" cannot even see through why they are "disillusioned", otherwise they would not have labelled themselves as such!

"Disillusioned with the mortal world" is by no means an ideological error of an individual. Like other ideologies, it is a product of history, a legacy of the vast spiritual harm left behind by the catastrophe of a whole decade. Once infected with it, we would lose our pursuit of truth, aspirations for the future, zest for our careers, concern for our comrades, and admiration for truth, goodness and beauty.

We would sink into the abyss of selfishness, narrow-mindedness, obstinacy and wretchedness. Experience of the decade has indeed left a deep imprint on the minds of the masses. However, different imprints have been left in the minds of different people. As far as the "disillusionist" are concerned, how has the 10 years of turmoil branded them? They are so tired of the counterrevolutionary political hullabaloo of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that they regard all politics as nothing more than that. They believe that once seen through, politics are not good but harmful. They witnessed constant persecution of some old comrades, who has been through thick and thin during the revolutionary wars and had been cautious and conscientious in the following socialist construction, and some people, who had been quietly immersing themselves in hard work without ever playing the trick of trimming their sails to the wind. All these made them jump into the conclusion that "honest people always get the worst," "revolution is inferior to no revolution," and "positive is inferior to negative." They had gone through one political campaign after another, so they lost faith in engaging in any more large-scale political campaigns. They are even sensitive to the extent that whenever the press publishes some criticism (not to mention refutation) of some errors, they immediately regard it as some kind of a signal. They saw with their own eyes that some who had persecuted others were persecuted in turn, so they do not believe that there still exist among comrades friendship and sincerity. The concept of the socialist economy now existing in their minds is that of a single economic element, a means of operation and a channel of circulation. Therefore, they have no confidence in the reform of the economic system. They think that "expanding rights," power, "engaging in activities," "grasping wealth," "being flexible" and so on are only expedient measures and that failure to excel in these would only lead to mistakes in orientation. In short, the "leftist" stuff which was further systematized and made into theory during the 10 years of great calamity has left too deep a impression. They might have once believed in it wholeheartedly, even fanatically. Nevertheless, once that kind of thing does not work anymore, their fanaticism, changes at once into depression. Or in other cases, despite their disapproval, they still regard it as "respectable" and "traditional," something that defies all changes, so they go from confusion to hesitation, and finally to passivity. We can put it this way: "Disillusionment with the mortal world" is a form of punishment for "leftist" ideological error and arises from summing up history passively and erroneously. We should not merely grieve over that period of unhappy history. More importantly, we should turn grief into strength. We should not just look at its negative aspects. Instead, we should assimilate experience from it positively. Revolutionaries of the previous generation showed great concern for the country and the people, waging resolute struggles against Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Men with lofty ideals and in pursuit of truth such as Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], Guo Weibin [6753 4850 1755], Shi Yunfeng [0670 7189 1496] and Yu Luoke [6657 5012 0344] emerged in large numbers from the masses. A great achievement was made in 1976 by the Tiananmen Square Masses Revolutionary Campaign in its effort to shatter the "gang of four," and despite material hardships and spiritual burdens, the masses have been working hard consistently for our national development. What does all this tell us? It tells us that our party, our country and our people are full of hope and that depression and low spirits are all irrational and unjustifiable.

Some comrades derive their "disillusionment with the mortal world" not only from social and historical factors, but also from their individual world outlook. What sort of world outlook is "disillusionment with the mortal world?" In the history of philosophy there is a school called skepticism, and "disillusionment with the mortal world" is a manifestation of the skeptical world outlook. According to skepticism,

the world is unknowable and therefore people should not take time and energy to find out what is going on in the world. Hence, happiness is defined as peace of mind and emotional restraint. Zhuangzi's philosophy is heavily tinted with skepticism—"give up books and abandon knowledge," "right is always a correlative of wrong in all cases, and vice versa," and "since our life span is limited and knowledge limitless," "it is dangerous for the limited to pursue the limitless." Although Zhuangzi's ideology was not looked upon as the "quintessence of Chinese culture" as that of Confucius by the later feudal ruling class, it still affects later generations as a unique school of thought. Such things seem to be philosophically sound at first glance, but they belong to idealism and not materialism. It is the dross left behind by the old society, not the essence worthy of discriminate assimilation by contemporaries. In recent times, such a world outlook was accepted more readily by the petty bourgeoisie, and unstable class wavering between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, always standing outside the contradictions of development, observing the world and judging affairs of human life with the indifference of an outsider. They "have but only one thought: 'Gain all you can,' regardless of everything else." (Lenin) Despite the fact that they cherish fantasies and are liable to become impulsive, they get depressed most easily. The world outlook of the "disillusionists" is very similar to that of the petty bourgeoisie. Since our nation in the old society had a large percentage of petty bourgeoisie, it is not surprising that its ideological influence is still widespread. However, everyone of our comrades should consciously remold his ideology and get rid of bad influences. We should be aware of the fact that all passive and pessimistic emotions, all theses of inaction, and abandonment of ideals and progress are not in tune with our present status as masters of socialist new China. The following lays emphasis on two points of ideological understanding.

On Pursuits and Ideals. All people have pursuits and ideals. Who does not want to eat better, dress better and live more comfortably and affluently? It is without saying that the pursuit of material life is our prime pursuit, as the old Chinese saying goes, "People's number one pursuit is food." Although Confucius "rarely talked about profit," he said, "food is never too delicate, nor cuisine too refined." It is not necessary for us to understate material gain, or oppose to people's pursuit of material enjoyment. That was a stupid act carried out during the rampage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." However, material pursuit is by no means the only pursuit or the highest pursuit. Besides material pursuit, people have political pursuit, pursuit of health and beauty and pursuit of morality, etc., all of which are pursuits of a higher level. For this reason, since the first day of the proletarian revolution led by the Communist Party, such pursuits have been guided and channeled with caution so that they are not confined to economic struggle, but are a part of a great political struggle. Hence, there appeared on the scene numerous communists and patriots who gave up their lives for the benefit of the people in heroic and moving deeds worthy of praise. Some comrades regard man's material pursuit as the only substantial matter, the highest ideal, and even go so far as to say better a slave of wealth than a master of poverty. Is there any justification for this kind of thinking? Let us recall a poem by Comrade Ye Ting [0673 2185]:

"The door for humans to enter and exist is tightly locked,
The hole for dogs to crawl out is open.
A voice cries out loud and shrill,
"Crawl out,
Freedom will be given to you!"

I long for freedom,
Yet I know too well,
How can a human body crawl out of a hole for dogs!"

That was the way our revolutionary martyrs approached freedom. In their struggle for freedom and master status for the people, they would rather die and stand than live and go down on their knees. Shouldn't those comrades, who utter self-degrading remarks such as "better be a slave than a master," have qualms of conscience and feel ashamed of themselves in contrast to the unbending iron strength and illuminating nobility of the revolutionary martyrs? "The Book of Songs" has the following sentence: "In the endless admiration of high mountains and beautiful scenery, let's strive likewise to reach perfection," meaning to admire noble thought and behavior and advance along the path of enlightenment. Later, someone added another verse: "Although reaching it is impossible, we should still yearn for it." Despite the fact that we cannot see communism realized in our generation, or even the next few generations, and that socialist morality cannot become the general standard of behavior among the masses in a brief period of time, Marxism has already pointed out a direction for us, and socialism has already opened a new path for us to the ideal state. Hence, we are better qualified than other generations in urging more and more people to pursue perfection. With the revolutionary martyrs and heroic figures as models, we can raise the spiritual stage of the whole nation for the creation of a socialist spiritual civilization.

On the Spirit of Struggle. During the years when class struggle was the key, nothing else was more distorted and abused than the word "struggle." In the epoch of chaos replaced by stability, how should people deal with struggle? Class struggle is now no longer the major contradiction, yet it still exists to a certain extent. In the face of speeches and behavior contrary to the four basic principles, shouldn't we step out with perfect assurance and educate with patience, criticize in all earnestness, and even wage necessary struggles against them? Discrepancies in ideas and opinions among the people should not at will be labelled ideological class struggle, but should we give up ideological struggle altogether? It can be put this way. If it were not for the controversies and struggles of this nature, we would still be tied up by the "two whatevers!" Stability is not tranquility of heart and lack of will; to oppose foolhardiness regardless of restrictions imposed by objective laws does not mean that enthusiasm is not needed; implementation of the principle of "to each according to his work" is not equivalent to negating the work attitude under communism; and implementation of the "double hundred" policy does not mean the repudiation of criticism and refutation. We should advocate the spirit of struggle at all times. In implementing the party's line, principles and policies since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we should have a clear-cut stand without being overcautious and equivocal. On the issue of the four basic principles, we should adopt a serious attitude, not allow an ideological influx of bourgeois liberalization, and misinterpret in very general terms the criticism of erroneous thought as bludgeoning. The correct attitude towards building the four modernizations should be one of high morale, full courage and energy. We should not follow established practice mechanically and accomplish nothing. Nor should we contribute our efforts according to money and participate according to "profit." Comrade Mao Zedong said at the founding of the nation: "We are facing hardships,

many hardships, but we strongly believe that all hardships will be surmounted by the heroic struggle of the people of the whole nation. We Chinese have rich experience in overcoming hardships. Since we and our ancestors have undergone and survived extremely hard times and have vanquished the powerful reactionaries internally and externally, why can't we build a thriving and prosperous nation after the triumph?" Let us perk up our spirits, learn and work painstakingly, and strive arduously to overcome all kinds of difficulties. Then we will succeed in our great undertaking of the four modernizations!

9784

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS EMPHASIZE PROFESSIONAL, POLITICAL STUDIES

Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Wu Tianqi [0702 1131 0796]: "Communist Party Members Should be Models of Study"]

[Text] Recently, we went to a party school to study the theories of Marx regarding reproduction and discovered that some comrades are unfamiliar with the basic knowledge of political and economic studies and learn it with great difficulty. This then reminded me of what Comrade Mao Zedong said about Communist Party members being models of study. If we wish to remedy this lack of theoretical knowledge we must again realize the importance of theoretical studies and truly become models of study.

The "Norms" require that Communist Party members be models of study. The "Norms" say that Communist Party members should study hard to be both red and expert.

The term "red" primarily means to hold securely to a correct political direction, firmly uphold the four basic principles, and to have a spiritual attitude of serving the people with both heart and mind. In order to be red one must study the works of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong as well as the writings of the older generation of revolutionaries, have deep understanding and study in order to utilize one's knowledge. Without revolutionary theory there would be no revolutionary actions. The political and economic theories of Marx-Leninism are the foundation of the economic policies of our party. The Party's direction of adjustments was made according to the theories of Marx regarding reproduction. If one understands this theory then one can appreciate the correctness of the series of directions, policies and actions regarding the adjustments to the national economy and furthermore can consciously carry them out with confidence. In the past we had shortcomings in our theoretical foundations and "left" ideology then occupied our minds with relative ease. This explains how theoretical immaturity leads to a one-sided ideology, creates work errors and causes serious harm. There is now an important need to sincerely study theory, grasp the basic principles of Marxism and liquidate "left" influences.

The term "expert" refers to professional requirements. Communist Party members must have a professional understanding of construction of modernization, must be able to deal with facts, must become experts and old hands at professional work. Otherwise, they will not have much authority to speak out. Laymen can lead experts, but isn't it better for experts to lead experts? A "wide spectrum medicine" truly has value, but if we change a "wide spectrum medicine" into a "narrow spectrum medicine" we then can make great increases in the speed of socialist construction.

When Comrade Zhou Enlai was a young man he took a vow to study in order to aid the Chinese people and suffered for many years in order to realize his vow. He acquired broad ranging knowledge and made everlasting contributions. Each Communist Party member should emulate Comrade Zhou Enlai's spirit by studying hard, earnestly engaging in practice, struggling to be a model of study, attempting to attain the standard of being both red and expert, leading the masses in carrying out the four modernizations and in making contributions to the Chinese people!

11582
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PARTY AND STATE

YUNNAN COMMISSION ON DISCIPLINE SUPPORTS PARTY LINE, POLICY

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jun 81 p 1

[Article: "Yunan Provincial Commission for Inspecting Discipline Pledges Support of Party Line and Policy: All Leaders are Required to Implement "Norms" to Promote a Good Party Workstyle and Close Relations with the Masses"]

[Text] The Yunan Provincial Party Commission for Inspecting Discipline recently convened its Third Plenum in Kunming. This plenum conveyed the spirit of the Central Committee Commission's Third Plenum Conference on instituting "norms" and the spirit of the Central Committee Commission on Discipline's Third Plenum regarding such problems as promoting a good party style, resolutely supporting the four basic principles, guaranteeing progress in implementing the economic adjustments and in implementing political stability, and in strengthening construction of the organization of the commission on discipline. The plenum examined and approved the report by the Provincial Standing Committee on Discipline titled "1980 Conditions in Discipline Inspecting Work and Views on Work for 1981." The report was given by An Pingsheng [1344 1627 3932], First Secretary of the Yunan Communist Party Committee.

The plenum conducted a sincere discussion of the problems in the Party work style. Everyone agreed that Comrade Chen Yun's [7115 0061] stern suggestion based on historical experience and conditions in the Party that "The matter of control over the workstyle of a political party is a question of life and death for the party" is a warning for the entire party, has great theoretical and practical significance for party construction, and is a basic concept according to which we may carry out our work in inspecting discipline. The departments in charge of inspecting party discipline must take a good party workstyle as their basic task and must strictly adhere to this task.

The plenum pointed out that corrections to the workstyle must start with the leadership and work through the leadership level by level until the bottom is reached. This is the key to implementing "norms" and correcting wrong styles. We must now solve those problems which have provoked the strongest reactions and greatest displeasure among the masses. The Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee

should begin by strictly operating according to the "norms" and conduct observations through the mass organizations and discipline inspecting organizations. They must listen to the reactions and views of the masses, conduct democratic life meetings, make counter investigations, and conduct criticism and self-criticism sessions. Party committees and party and government organizations of all levels must also carry out these actions. This is even more true for the Standing Committee of the Provincial Committee for Inspecting Discipline. Following this, there should be continued education of party members as to the primary content of the "norms" and party constitution (revised draft) regarding party nature, party rules and party laws. Model behavior of people performing good deeds according to the "norms" should be broadly propagandized. Leaders who engage in improper acts and seriously transgress against the "norms" should be severely criticized and punished. As for the question of punishing improper behavior the concerned rules of the Central Committee should be carried out with general adherence to the limitations found in the "norms," with leniency for past errors and strict punishment for post-publication transgressions. The emphasis must be placed on transgressions which occur after the publication of the "norms." There must be severe punishment for open violations of the law, repeated violation, violations by people who implement the law, resisting investigations, nonfeasance and attacks against people who report transgressions.

The plenum forcefully pointed out that the present task of work in inspecting discipline must focus on guaranteeing the implementation of the line, direction and policy established by the Third Party Plenum and upholding the four basic principles. The plenum summed up the real conditions in Yunnan by pointing out that in terms of implementing the line, direction and policy established by the Third Party Plenum, supporting the four basic principles and in stabilizing peaceful unity the situation is generally good. Nonetheless, because of the influence of the mistaken "left" ideology, and also because of interference from the right, there still are problems in class struggle which cannot be overlooked. In order to solve these problems there must be strong support of the principle of realism, sincere investigations and studies, a clear distinction of the two types of contradictions, clarification of the problems in understanding, educational problems and political problems. There should be concrete analysis of concrete problems without willful resort to the higher plane of principle. There should be no reliance on forming upward associations or downward alliances and political conclusions should not be reached without hard work. A sincere attitude should be adopted in handling people's concrete problems. Such behavior will be beneficial in developing a peaceful and united political situation and in promoting smooth development of the economic adjustments.

The plenum felt that correcting improper economic behavior and guaranteeing the smooth implementation of the economic adjustments are an important task for all levels of the discipline commission. Right now there must be a firm grasp of inspecting and severely

punishing criminal cases and undisciplined behavior in economic areas, a strengthening of the struggle against all sorts of improper behavior, strong support for and development of those advanced individuals and units who dared to struggle against improper behavior and who give their support protection to the nation's wealth.

The plenum believes that in order to meet the demands of this historical turning point there must be self-strengthening within the Commission to Inspect Discipline. Party committees on all levels should include investigations of discipline in their daily work schedules, strengthen the leadership in inspecting discipline, establish and strengthen discipline, establish and strengthen discipline investigating organs, adjust and strengthen the leadership core in the discipline investigating departments, and provide support for the discipline investigating departments which struggle against improper behavior. All levels of discipline commissions and all comrades engaging in work on investigating discipline must sincerely study the central committee work conference documents, improve their understanding, strengthen their stance, pluck up their spirits, work hard, be successful in improving the party style and improving party discipline, and guarantee the smooth completion of the central tasks of economic adjustments and political stability as determined by the plenum.

11582
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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE REVIEWS MORAL VIEW OF COLLECTIVISM

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 May 81 p 3

[Text] Building a socialist moral view is an important aspect in the task of constructing a socialist spiritual civilization. The socialist moral view is a behavioral standard for regulating the relationship among individuals and between the individual and the collective within the socialist society. The collective contents of the various behavioral standards vary with one another, but as components for unifying socialist morality, they possess a unified foundation, that is, the collective benefits of socialism and the moral view of collectivism formed on this foundation. Therefore, the basic principle of socialist morality is anti-individualism and for upholding and promoting collectivism.

This socialist moral view of collectivism demands that the people must handle correctly the relationship between collective interests and individual interests, and place them in their respective positions.

Some people consider that the moral view of collectivism disavows individual interest. This is a misinterpretation. Marx said, "The major premise in any history of mankind is, no doubt, the existence of a living individual." ("Selected Works of Marx-Engels", Vol I, p 24). Without the existence of realistic and living individuals, there is no such thing as the existence of a human society. Every living individual must first of all have food, clothing and other essentials of life before embarking on productive and social activities. This means that every person must have basic individual interests. That is why Marxists have never disavowed individual interests in general. Stalin said, "Collectivism and socialism do not disavow individual interests but combine them with collective interests. Socialism cannot relegate individual interests. Only a socialist society can fully provide individual interests." ("Selected Works of Stalin," Vol II, p 355). In his article "How To Be A Good Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi stressed that a party member's individual interests must come after those of the party. He also clearly pointed out, "This does not mean that our party disavows or takes away the members' individual interests or wants to wipe out their personality."

However, Marxists firmly oppose individualism which places individual interests above all else. They believe that collective interests should be more important than individual interests, that individual interests exist within collective interests which should conscientiously be observed.

Under the conditions of socialist public ownership of the means of production, individual and collective interests are basically the same thing. The reason is because they have a common foundation: The public ownership of the means of production has a common origin, and the labor of laborers has a common goal, that is, to fulfill the needs of the entire society and the growing requirements of the materialistic and cultural life of the masses. However, this definitely does not mean that no contradictions exist between them. There are contradictions. Let us take the distribution of material benefits as an example. Within a specific period, since the wealth created by a worker is a set amount, his portion of the wealth would be reduced, if a larger amount is allocated to the state and the collective side; on the other hand, if the worker gets more, than the state and the collective will get less. However, as this kind of contradiction arises out of the foundation of identical basic interests, it is therefore not antagonistic in nature. How can we correctly handle such a contradiction? To do that, we must understand and grasp the correct principle to handle it. In a socialist society where the means of production is owned by the public, collective interests which constitute the highest manifestation of individual interests, is the fundamental condition and guarantee to realize individual interests. Therefore, in comparing individual interests with collective benefits, we must consider the latter to have top priority. Individual interests should never come before collective interests. They should be in a position subject to collective benefits. This is a basic principle necessary for us to solve the contradiction between individual and collective interests.

In a socialist society, the means of production is owned by the public. Consequently, the development of individual interests is contingent mainly on the development of socialist collective interests; likewise, the upgrading of an individual's materialistic and cultural living standard is also contingent on the improvement of the entire society's materialistic and cultural living standard. If everybody pays attention only to his individual interests and neglects collective interests, or only to immediate interests but not long-term interests, socialist collective interests will be harmed, and the four modernizations will be difficult to realize. Consequently, there will be no guarantee for the individual interest of the people, and the growing demands for material and cultural life will not be met. At present, our country is undergoing a national economic readjustment. For our economy to maintain a steady and long-term development on a proportionately balanced foundation, we must presently curtail a portion of the basic reconstruction programs, suspend and shift some industries, and slash as much as possible all nonproductive expenditures. In so doing, possibly, some employee benefits of certain industries will be temporarily affected. However, as long as we voluntarily sacrifice our individual interests for the sake of collective interests, appreciate that "local interests must be subordinate to the interests of the whole," understand the difficulties of the government, and actively support the country's economic readjustment, then the development of the entire national economy will bring about a strong material guarantee to the long-term interests of the individuals and local groups. On the contrary, if we tightly hold on to individual and local interests and hinder the implementation of our national economic readjustment, the dangers which are currently lurking will surface and lead to national economic chaos. Both local and individual interests will suffer accordingly. Therefore, we must understand that socialist collective interests and individual interests are closely linked together, and that the former is the ultimate realization of the latter. If we do a good

job readjusting the national economy, and struggle for the socialist modernization, we will be bringing benefits to others and our descendants, as well as struggling for our own immediate and long-term interests.

The moral view of collectivism is an important ingredient of socialist spiritual civilization. It is being accepted by more people as guidelines for thinking and behaving. But it has not become a behavioral standard for all members of society. This spiritual civilization is a must for the building of a socialist materialistic civilization. At the same time, it is also impossible to build a socialist spiritual civilization without materialistic civilization. Therefore, if we want to construct a socialist, modernized strong country, we must, on one hand, make a special effort to increase our productivity build a socialist materialistic civilization so that the country can best satisfy the material benefits of the people, and, on the other hand, strive hard to build a socialist spiritual civilization, including the implementation of education concerning the moral view of collectivism for the masses, so that the people can struggle consciously and actively for socialist collective interests.

9300

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NATIONAL STATISTICS BUREAU RELEASES 1980 REPORT

Hong Kong ZHONGGUO XINWEN in Chinese 30 Apr 81 p 1

[Article: "Statistics Bureau Provides Some Nationwide Statistics"]

[Text] NCHA Beijing 29 Apr--The Chinese National Statistics Bureau today released a communique on the results of implementation of the 1980 National Economic Plan and provided some nationwide statistics as of the end of last year:

--The number of employees under the system of ownership by all the people or the system of collective ownership reached 104.44 million persons;

--Units under the system of ownership by all the people had a total of 5,296,000 natural scientists and technical personnel;

--There are 2,798,000 professional health technicians throughout the country;

--There are 675 higher level schools throughout the country, with 1,144,000 students; there are 324,000 students enrolled in television university; 455,000 students in factory-run colleges or after-hours college classes; and 1,243,000 students in secondary level vocational schools;

--There are 55,081,000 students in ordinary middle schools; 454,000 students in agricultural middle schools and vocational middle schools; and 680,000 students in technical schools;

--There are 146.27 million students in elementary schools. 11.51 million children are in kindergarten;

--There are 125,000 motion picture projection units throughout the country;

--There are 3,533 troupes of performing artists;

--There are 2,912 cultural centers;

--There are 1,732 public libraries;

--There are 365 museums;

--There are 106 broadcasting stations and 484 transmitter stations and rebroadcast stations;

--There are 38 central television stations and 246 television transmitter stations and rebroadcast stations with power of 1,000 watts or more;

--National and first-class provincial newspapers publish 14.04 billion copies per year, various magazines publish 1.12 billion copies per year, and book publishers turn out 4.59 billion copies (or prints) per year;

--There are 1,982,000 hospital beds throughout the country.

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CSO: 4005/663

SHANXI POPULATION INCREASES AT HIGH RATE IN 30 YEARS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 13 Apr 81 p 3

[Article: "Shanxi's Population Increased by 11 Million in 30 Years"]

[Text] Shanxi's population has increased at a great rate over the past 30 years since the liberation. The provincial population was 12.89 million in 1949, and reached 24.236 million in 1979. During the same period, the total population nationwide increased 79.2 percent while Shanxi's population increased 91.1 percent, far exceeding the growth of the national population. According to a report in JINGJI DILI [ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY] written by Wang Jinfu [3769 6855 4811] in 1929, Shanxi's population was 11,114,591 in 1920 and 12,153,127 in 1926. According to the records of "A Complete Picture of All Nations" published by the Fujii Bookstore of Japan in 1904, Shanxi's population had already reached 12,200,456 in 1903. With the exception of some slight discrepancies due to a different administrative division of the population, these records show that population growth was very slow before the liberation. Between 1920 and 1949, the population's natural growth reached only 1,694,000, a 15.2-percent growth. The population growth in the 30 postliberation years was six times that before the liberation.

The great growth of population in the 30 postliberation years was mainly due to natural growth. The birth rate was above 30 per thousand in most years between 1950 and 1969, and on average was above 20 per thousand in the years 1970 to 1979. On the other hand, the death rate kept dropping except in 1 or 2 years, from 13.7 per thousand to 6.4 per thousand, or more than 100 percent. A high birth rate and a low death rate accounted for the high growth rate.

Over the past 30 years, the natural changes in Shanxi's population were basically identical to the trend of nationwide development. In the fifties, after the state of war was concluded, the people's life stabilized and the living standard rose; in particular, with the vast number of peasants and rural women freed from the fetters of feudalism after the agrarian reform and the promulgation of the Marriage Law, the marriage rate increased rapidly and the birth rate rose noticeably. Meanwhile, with medical and health services gradually popularized and expanded, particularly with the new delivery method popularized, infant mortality dropped considerably. The natural growth rate remained at a high level in the 10 years under review. The birth rate showed some decline and the mortality rate some rise in the 3 years of economic difficulties in the sixties, but the natural growth

rate was still higher than the national level. Since then up to the seventies, the natural growth rate in our province remained well above the national average. It is since the early seventies when family planning began that the population's birth rate and growth rate began a downward trend.

Among the districts with a higher growth rate over the past 30 years are Yanbei, Luliang, Yuncheng, and Linfeng. Between 1964 and 1978, Shanxi's population increased 34.9 percent, while the increase was 40.5 percent in Luliang, 37.7 percent in Yanbei, and 36.3 percent in Linfeng, in all cases higher than the average provincial level. The increases were 19.9 percent, 33.3 percent and 30 percent respectively in Xinxian, Jinzhong, and southeastern Shanxi, lower than the average provincial level. (Based on JINGJI WENTI No 2, 1981)

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPULATION GROWTH RATE DROPS IN HEILONGJIANG

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 81 p 1

[Article: "Population's Natural Growth Rate Drops to 8.64 per Thousand in Heilongjiang"]

[Text] The party committees and governments in our province carried out the family planning policies conscientiously and undertook family planning work persistently with remarkable success during 1980. The population's natural growth rate dropped from 10.14 per thousand in 1979 to 8.64 per thousand during the year, a record level bringing our province to the foremost ranks nationwide.

The leading bodies of party committees and governments at all levels in our province attached great importance to family planning work and undertook it in the same way as they did industrial and agricultural production. Leading comrades of the Wuchang County Committee went down to the grassroots units from time to time to insure the success of family planning work simultaneously with undertaking production. The population's natural growth rate dropped to 5.16 per thousand in the county last year. In the communes where they stayed to exercise leadership, leading comrades of the Hailun County Committee undertook agricultural production on the one hand and family planning work on the other with the result that in 1 year the natural growth rate of the population dropped to 3.29 per thousand in this county, which has a large population. Upon publication of the "open letter" from the CCP Central Committee concerning family planning work, all districts in the province publicized it widely, and "meetings of mothers-in-law," "meetings of daughters-in-law" and "meetings of unmarried youths" were held to let the masses use their personal knowledge and experience to enlighten and educate one another. In well-to-do counties, the benefits of family planning were publicized in literary and artistic forms. In Harbin municipality, a mass discussion was held on "why married couples are encouraged to give birth to only one child" and the theory of population was expounded through figures and comparisons, providing education to the masses. In the province, 528,368 persons, or 82.4 percent of the married couples with one child, have signed up and received one-child certificates. The one-child rate reached more than 90 percent in Harbin, Jixi, Daqing, Qiqihar, Hegang, Mudanjiang, Jidong, Jiamusi, Boli, Jixian, Fuyu, Baiquan, Naho, Acheng, Wuchang, and Yanshou.

Promises were fulfilled and rewards and punishments were strictly meted out. Ever since our province promulgated the "provisional family planning stipulations,"

that is, the "30 articles," in 1979, all districts have upheld the principle of relying mainly on ideological education and rewards while making the necessary economic and administrative measures subsidiary and have given support and rewards to those who waited to marry and give birth to children at a mature age and those married couples who gave birth to only one child. Except for those waiting for employment or belonging to individual poor communes and brigades, all the married couples who gave birth to only one child received monetary awards as expenses for bringing up their children. Women who had birth-control surgery were given a nourishment allowance or nutrimenta. Some railways, farms, coal mines, military units, and urban enterprises and institutions granted extended wedding leave and cash awards to those who married at a mature age and extended maternity leave to those women who gave birth to only one child. The only child was given priority in attending a nursery and in receiving medical treatment. The family with only one child was given priority in the allocation of housing in the city or a private plot in a rural district. Those who did not practice birth control were punished economically.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

LIAONING MEETING PROMOTES LOW POPULATION GROWTH RATE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Apr 81 p 1

[Article: "Liaoning Determined To Fulfill the Task of Keeping Population's Natural Growth Rate Under 10 per Thousand"]

[Text] At a meeting held by the provincial people's government to commend the advanced groups and individuals practicing birth control, for 4 days the participants exchanged experiences, analyzed the situation and discussed how to fulfill the task set by the provincial party committee and provincial government of keeping the population's natural growth rate below 10 per thousand in the province.

The provincial party committee, the provincial government and the provincial people's congress attached great importance to this matter. Leading Comrades Guo Feng [6753 1496], Chen Puju [7115 3877 1172], Liu Wen [2692 2429], and Zhang Zhiyuan [1728 4249 6678] attended the meeting and heard reports. Guo Feng, Chen Puju, and Zhang Zhiyuan spoke at the meeting.

Comrade Guo Feng fully affirmed the achievements scored in family planning work in the province last year and analyzed the situation this year. He pointed to the formidable task of birth control this year. In the first place, the new situation regarding further readjustment of the national economy will give rise to a series of new problems in family planning work. Second, the "leftist" ideological influence remains to be sorted out. Some comrades are not clear as to what are manifestations of "leftist" thinking in family planning work. This has given rise to some ideological problems and caused some misgivings. Third, with more young people reaching legal marriageable age in the province this year following promulgation of the new marriage law, our province is confronted with a peak of population growth this year. We must not slacken in the face of difficulties. We must exert great efforts to carry out successful birth control.

Concerning the question of whether the current family planning work is under the "leftist" influence and whether the central authorities' call for "one married couple, one child" will change, Comrade Guo Feng expounded the party's general and specific policies on birth control. He said: What is the "leftist" approach? To lose contact with reality and force oneself to do what is objectively impossible is a "leftist" approach. Our birth control program is based on China's national conditions and actual circumstances. Failure to control population growth will bring on disasters to the state and the nation. The practice of past years has

shown that the goal of birth control can be reached through efforts. How can this be regarded as being under the "leftist" influence? As to excessive demands and commandism practiced in family planning work, they are defects in methods of work which should be corrected. In this connection, comrades doing family planning work should go about their work with complete assurance. The call for "one married couple, one child" will not change, at least not before the end of this century. It is entirely possible to discover in the course of family planning work the policy measures that need to be changed. But this change will only facilitate family planning and the policy of "one married couple, one child."

Comrade Guo Feng emphasized that the key to family planning work lies in leadership. Party committees at all levels must strengthen leadership in family planning work. He pointed out that family planning work is a long-term strategic task which must be given importance and grasped as a matter of prime importance, and guidance should be checked, understanding unified and policies implemented at least four times a year. In the second quarter of this year, all municipalities and prefectures should do three things well: give cadres lessons in the Marxist theory of population; organize personnel to check up on how the birth control policy has been implemented and to solve problems that arise; and transmit the decision of this meeting and let secretaries say something. We should arouse the whole party to carry out family planning work and to conduct propaganda and education among the masses. The departments of propaganda and organization and discipline inspection should consider this as important work within their duty. Trade unions, women's federations, and YCL organizations should grasp the work as one of their central tasks. Government economic departments and culture and education organizations should include the work on their agenda and take corresponding measures to grasp the two kinds of "production" simultaneously. We should step up the establishment of family planning contingents and conduct training effectively. Family planning is also one of the three major tasks of the health department, which should set up organizations to offer technical guidance. The medical department should insure the supply of medical aid and drugs for birth control purposes.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COMBINED CENSUS, GENERAL HOUSING SURVEY PROPOSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 May 81 p 2

[Article by Lin Zhiqun [2651 1807 5028]: "Combine the Census With a General Housing Survey"]

[Text] A general survey of housing has a great bearing on housing construction. It is suggested that a general housing survey be integrated with the nationwide census next year. By doing this we can get twice the results with half the effort. If we miss this opportunity, it is likely that a general housing survey will be put off for more than 10 years.

To solve the urban and rural housing problem step by step, a long-term housing construction plan and a guiding principle suited to the state of our country are called for. Drawing up a correct plan and guiding principle demands an all-round survey of the whole housing problem, and the best thing to do is to conduct a general housing survey in coordination with the census.

Housing construction is a social and economic problem involving many aspects. The main factors that determine the effects can be summarized in four points: 1) Social needs. We should find out what housing shortage exists from the quantity and quality of existing housing and the comparative demands of population and residents and, on the basis of the population trends and the growth of residents, predict the housing demands of urban and rural residents. 2) Economic ability. We should study the proper ratio of total investment in housing to the GNP or capital investment and, on the basis of the extent of existing housing shortage and the further need for housing, correctly determine the investment level of housing construction and the various avenues of investment accumulations--that is, state investment and funds raised by the collective and the individual. 3) Technical measures. On the basis of proper housing standards and according to the construction and production levels of construction materials and mechanical and other facilities within our means, we should determine the production and construction channels for housing construction: highly industrialized method, semiindustrialized method or traditional handicraft method. 4) General and specific policies. We should take into all-round consideration the social, economic and technical factors mentioned above, coordinate them and adopt policy measures for housing construction, such as drawing up laws and ordinances, working out construction plans, and setting up organizations to implement the

plans. The above four factors are closely related to one another and condition one another, but the social needs are the starting point and the end result of the housing problem.

The history of housing construction in various countries of the modern world indicates that social need for housing and, in particular, an all-round and systematic understanding of the present state of affairs, are the basis of all construction plans and guiding principles. This is because only by getting a clear idea of the present state of affairs is it possible to analyze the cause of the present situation and its experience and lessons and to forecast the trend of future development. Furthermore, the practice of various countries in the world indicates that the only way to get a clear idea of the housing problem is to organize and conduct periodic general housing surveys and sample housing surveys. Through a general survey we can grasp the basic conditions of housing nationwide; through sample surveys we can periodically collect some typical data on partial and special problems, such as residents' income and expenditure, housing habits of the residents in different areas and in different social strata, and so forth. Many countries attach great importance to general housing surveys. The United Nations put forward the "principles of general housing surveys" in 1958, defining the meaning of "housing," the basic and supplementary contents of general surveys as well as the specifications of these contents so as to meet the international requirements and make it easy to make comparisons.

A general housing survey and a census are closely related. According to statistics compiled by the United Nations, of the 44 nations that conducted general housing surveys in the 10 years after World War II, 37 conducted general housing surveys in coordination with a census. A number of countries set up unified organizations to conduct these two kinds of surveys, stipulated uniform programs, and trained survey personnel to conduct both types of surveys. Some countries have even adopted the same general survey forms.

The important thing in general surveys is to persevere and build up a base. In the United States, the nationwide census began as far back as in 1790. Since then a general housing survey has been taken as part of the census. The general survey has been conducted once every 10 years up to now. England began taking a census in 1801; at the outset, the census merely included registration of the number of households; subsequently a housing survey was integrated with the census. The general survey conducted once every 10 years was never interrupted except during World War II, in 1941. In the seventies, the general survey was changed to one conducted once every 5 years. Under the traditional influence of England, the countries in the Indian subcontinent have conducted a census once every 10 years since 1861, while at the same time registering the number of households or conducting a general housing survey. The general survey work was carried on in India and Pakistan after they gained independence, and valuable historical data have been accumulated by them. According to the GUANGMING RIBAO of 14 February this year, Pakistan conducted a general housing survey 1-15 December 1980 for two purposes: 1) collecting reference data for providing better housing conditions and drawing up housing plans, and 2) making preparations for conducting a census in March 1981.

The party Central Committee and the State Council have decided to conduct a census on 1 July 1982. This is a matter of prime importance in strengthening our statistical work, accumulating basic data and ascertaining the status of our country.

It is also an important measure to provide a scientific basis for planning and for avoiding and minimizing subjectivism. In view of the importance of a housing survey to housing construction from now on and the close relationship between a census and a housing survey, we suggest that a housing survey be included in next year's nationwide census. The specific contents on housing may be determined in light of the requirements set forth by the United Nations.

A housing survey requires a great deal of preparatory work. For example, we must select the items, define the housing survey, design the forms, work out a general survey guide, and train general surveyors. The nationwide census is only some 10 months away, while a housing survey in general should be conducted before the census. We must lose no time and we must make the decision at an early date. By combining the two types of general surveys, we can get twice the results with half the effort; if we miss this opportunity of a nationwide census it is very likely that our general housing survey will be put off for more than 10 years.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF LITERARY, ARTISTIC CREATION EMPHASIZED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 30 Apr 81 p 4

[Article by Dong Daohong (5516 1129 0022): "Literary and Artistic Creation Must Uphold the Four Basic Principles"]

[Text] Whether or not literary and artistic creation should uphold the four basic principles is a momentous question relating to the nature of literary and artistic creation itself. The point on which our literature and art differs from that of the exploiting classes is that with the proletariat it is an important weapon for remaking the objective world. Comrade Mao Zedong said that literary and artistic works are the "cogs and screws" of the party's entire enterprise, and that the party must utilize these weapons of literature and art to "unify the people, educate the people, attack the enemy, and annihilate the enemy." The four basic principles are the summing up of the experience of the Chinese Communist Party through several decades of leading the people's revolution; they are the four great pillars that hold up the sky as we progress to a realization of communism. They are the fundamental, guiding ideology behind all of our work. Only by using the four basic principles as their guide by which they observe and reveal the life of society can writers and artists create truly proletarian literature and art and enable literature and art to serve the people and socialism better.

Literature and art are an important component part of the superstructure, and they must truly recognize and reflect the new age, new personages, and new thought. In the new historic period of our great effort to bring about the four modernizations among the broad masses of people, there have been many laudable and tragically heroic deeds, and writers and artists have the responsibility to reveal them. The building of the four modernizations requires a political situation characterized by stability and unity, and writers and artists have an unshirkable duty to help bring this about. At the same time, we should also be aware of the fact that our present generation of young people have all, to one degree or another, been affected by the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the gang of four, and that under these circumstances augmenting our political ideological education of young people is one of the most pressing tasks of our struggle. Our literature and art absolutely should not evade such a great task. Of course, it is not that we want to change literature and art into a textbook on politics; on the contrary, we want literature and art to bring their own natures into play as fully as possible and, through a whole series of vivid, vital artistic forms, affect and influence the broad mass of readers and cause

them, without being aware of it, to be educated ideologically, edified spiritually, and satisfied artistically. This, then, requires that authors clearly recognize the importance of their own responsibility; they should consider the creation of ideologically healthy and artistically forceful works as their own most sublime task. Only in this way will they be worthy of being called "engineers of the human soul" and the "good teachers and beneficial friends" of young readers. Those works which in the face of reality produce erroneous descriptions that bring about mutual suspicion among people or tend to make people suspicious of the party's programs and line are completely at variance with the wishes of the people. What the building of the four modernizations needs are battle drums and good vocalists, and not simply a prescription to discourage us; or a valve to help us let off steam.

Would upholding the four basic principles violate the guiding principle of the "double hundred"? Seen from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, not only would it not violate the "double hundred" policy, but it would promote literature and art to be a more forceful and more healthy development in accordance with the "double hundred" policy. The guiding principle of the "double hundred" is a proletarian policy, and it is not bourgeois liberalism. In the creation of subject matter or artistic forms, the party does not impose any limit. Comrade Hu Yaobang in his "Speech Given at the Informal Meeting on the Creation of Volumes of Plays" clearly pointed out that: "Our field of literary subject matter is unprecedentedly broad." That is to say, all things in the thousands of years of our history and in our vast geographic area, and all things that our people have thought about or imagined, all these can be written about, or landscapes and bird and flower paintings painted, or light music composed, and all are necessary. In this respect, authors have the broadest freedom. As long as they possess healthy sentiments and tend to bring about a political situation of stability and unity, the people will welcome them. Our authors should continue to liberate their thinking, and not separate the upholding of the four basic principles from either the implementation of the policy of the "double hundred," or the liberation of their thinking.

As soon as some comrades hear about upholding the four basic principles or hear of being careful about the social effectiveness of the work, they say that it is "giving up," or that it is "violating the guiding principle of the double hundred"; that is a mechanical materialist understanding, and is confusing the policy of the "double hundred" with bourgeois liberalism. At the same time, our implementation of the "double hundred" policy is not done simply in order to write anything we wish, and eliminate criticism. Engaging in criticism of works that have shortcomings is quite a normal phenomenon, and it is done out of love and concern for authors in general and for their work. As soon as some comrades see literature criticized they frown and say that the authors are being "beaten with sticks," but this is not a correct attitude. As for some people's desire to "break through" the "set patterns" of the four basic principles, that notion is even more completely erroneous.

From the point of view of the present situation in literary and artistic creation, the overwhelming majority of works are good, and are needed by the people. However, there are also some works whose ideology is not healthy, and whose style

is not very elevated. There are also some authors who have not made a deep-going study of the complex social contradictions of the new period, and do not accurately present the struggle between the advanced and the backward, between brilliance and darkness, and between righteousness and evil. Rather they shut the door on such matters and put together weird, outlandish stories which cater to the low-class tastes of certain people. There are also some works which pay no heed whatever to the most rudimentary aesthetic requirements, and simply throw together a lot of low-class, decadent things. Quite obviously, this kind of thing is in violation of the four basic principles.

Literary and artistic creation must uphold the four basic principles, and the most important element in this is that we must have a correct understanding of ourselves, including our party, our society, our people and cadres, our leaders, and so forth. Our socialist society is a much more advanced social system than either feudalism or capitalism. Due to all kinds of reasons, it is still not quite perfect enough, and it has also suffered the serious setback of the 10 years of rampage. However, from the point of view of the entire stream of history, that period was only 1 short instant. Communist Party members and our revolutionary people must be good at forming general conclusions from the winding, unfolding course of history; overcome shortcomings; and bring the inherent superiority of our socialist system into full play. As those who express the minds and wishes of the people, writers and artists should also react this way; that is, standing on the high plane of history, they should use the standpoint, viewpoints, and methods of Marxism to look upon human life and reality and, hence, create actual, true descriptions. They must accurately present the essential as opposed to the nonessential aspects of life, and they cannot exaggerate the dark side of the life of society. Regarding the remnants of feudalism—thinking that favors special privileges, and bureaucracy—they cannot and need not avoid these but, in describing them, they must be as "enthusiastic as a burning fire," and must burn them in the fire of the proletariat. Since they cannot take their attitude of subjectivism and place it amidst fresh flowers for others to appreciate, they also cannot create some strange and fantastic plots which cater to the idle, hollow "spiritual needs" of certain people. Even more important they should not confuse the two different kinds of contradiction, reverse good and bad, portray actions harmful to the people's advantage as "heroic actions," or portray those engaged in building the four modernizations as "fools" who do not know what they are doing. Some works appearing over the last few years have had this kind of tendency. Since last year's informal conference on the creation of volumes of plays, this kind of work is already less common, but as a tendency it is still something we should conscientiously try to overcome.

What we have been referring to above are certain problems we should pay attention to in describing present-day life. In describing historical topics or other kinds of subject matter, there also exists the question of what our correct understanding should be. In this way, with regard to life during the historical peasant uprisings, some works depict the peasants during these uprisings as the heroes of history, and other works do not do this sufficiently; some works can have a good influence on today's readers, and others have a bad influence. The cause of this lies in the fact that the authors' attitude in observing life and in describing life is not completely identical. Comrade Mao Zedong in his

"Speeches" pointed out that: "The proletariat, with regard to the literary and artistic works of past ages, must first of all examine what their [the works'] attitude is in treating the people, see if historically they possess any progressive meaning, and distinguish and select among the different attitudes." This is also the principle that we should obey in observing and describing historical personages and the phenomena of life throughout history. This is the attitude of historical materialism. Only by using the historical materialist attitude to observe and describe history will we be able to restore history's original aspect. This kind of work is necessarily also in line with the four basic principles.

Literary and artistic creation must uphold the four basic principles, and the crux of this is that authors must have a correct world view. Over the past few years, the effect of an author's world view on literary and artistic creation has not been discussed sufficiently. In order to enable literary and artistic creation to better uphold the four basic principles, it is necessary that authors step up the remaking of their own world views. They must, like a great many authors of previous generations, continuously go deeply into the life of the people, maintain close relations with the broadest masses of people, cause their own ideology and sentiments to become one with those of the masses, think what the people think, and love what the people love.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POLICIES REPORTED FOR MILITARY SCHOOLS' RECRUITMENT

Leadership Strengthening in Recruitment

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Apr 81 p 3

[Article: "Military Academies Recruit More Than 10,000 Upper Middle School Graduates"]

[Text] NCNA 26 Apr--This year, the various military academies of the People's Liberation Army will recruit more than 10,000 graduating students from upper middle schools in the various provinces, cities, and autonomous regions. To carry out this year's recruiting for the military academies, the Ministry of Education and the People's Liberation Army General Political Department recently issued a joint notice requiring all areas and all troop units to strengthen their leadership in recruitment for the military academies, energetically to propagandize the important significance of accelerating the training of leading cadres and professional and technical personnel for modernized revolutionary units, and encourage the young students to apply actively to the military academies, to provide personnel talent for the modernization of national defense.

The notice pointed out that there are several new stipulations to the conditions and methods of this year's recruiting of students, according to the characteristics of the military academies. The conditions and methods of recruiting students for the military technical schools, like those of higher level local schools, this year, requires that candidate students participate in the uniform nationwide entrance examination for higher level schools. This year the military command academies will conduct an independent recruitment of students ahead of time, carrying out their recruitment work after the examinations for graduation from upper middle school and before the uniform nationwide entrance examination for higher level schools. It was determined that recruiting committees in the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions, in accordance with the recruitment plan of the military command academies, will recruit students from a portion of the areas and middle schools. The military command academies should coordinate with the middle schools in conducting propaganda and motivation. In areas and middle schools with a recruitment task, student candidates may volunteer, and later the best, from among those who have always displayed good politics, are strong and healthy, and who meet the prerequisites or do well on the upper middle school graduate examination will be selected for enrollment. No student recruited

for a military command academy will then participate in the uniform nationwide entrance examination for higher level schools.

To guarantee the physical qualifications of new students recruited by the military academies, students participating in the uniform nationwide entrance examination must undergo a physical examination before being recruited. The reexamination will be handled in accordance with the physical examination specified for students recruited by the military academies this year. The first volunteer candidate for the military academies to score above the passing grade (or the physical examination grade) should also undergo a physical reexamination ahead of time. After the second and third candidates for the military academies, the physical reexamination can be closely attended to within the recruitment procedure. Physical reexaminations should be conducted at the nearest military hospital whenever possible, and when there is no military hospital nearby, a local hospital may be commissioned to conduct it.

The notice said that candidates for the military academies should be 20 years of age or less (born after 1 September 1961). Candidates accepted by the military academies will be formally inducted into the service by the academy accepting them in accordance with the procedures prescribed by the forces for that purpose.

The notice said that 22 military technical academies, including the signal engineering college, the Luoyang Foreign Languages College, the Nanjing Foreign Languages College, and the Cartography College, are key institutes of the whole country, and will recruit students from the first group, with other military technical academies recruiting from the second group.

Flying School Recruitment

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Apr 81 p 2

[Article: "Civil Aviation Flying School Begins Recruiting New Students for Air Duty This Year"]

[Text] Our country's first professional school for the training of civil aviation flying personnel--the Civil Aviation Flying School--will begin this year to recruit new students for air duty from among those taking the unified nationwide entrance examination for higher level schools. This is an educational measure adopted to satisfy the modernization of civil aviation.

This year, 60 student pilots will be recruited in the 2 cities of Nanjing and Chengdu. All 1981 upper middle school graduates between the ages of 16 and 18, either male or female, are eligible to apply. To guarantee the quality of recruits, the flying school can enroll ahead of time all those who qualify in the political investigation, physical examination, and cultural assessment.

The Civil Aviation Flying School is located near Chengdu. At present they offer courses in the four professions of airplane pilot, in-flight navigator, in-flight communicator, and air traffic controller. The term of study is 3 years. In consideration of the special characteristics of flight training, this school will provide students with a little better living accommodations than the general run of schools and colleges, providing meals free of charge, and also providing each student with a fixed living subsidy each month.

EDITORIAL STRESSES NEED TO IMPROVE PARTY LEADERSHIP IN EDUCATION

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Earnestly Strengthen Party Leadership Over Education"]

[Text] A province-wide educational work conference has decided to further implement the eight-character policy with readjustment as the central task, carry out universal elementary education, and strengthen political and ideological work in the schools. To move our province's educational work forward, the primary problem is strengthening and improving the party's leadership in educational work.

If we are to strengthen the party's leadership in educational work, we must fully recognize the function of education and its important position with regard to the four modernizations. Science and technology are the key links to the four modernizations, and education is their foundation. However, education was neglected in the past because of the influence of leftist thinking and the fetters of a small producer's mentality, and the ratio between educational construction and economic construction was not of suitable proportion. This caused us to fall into a situation of long-term cultural backwardness and deficiency in skilled personnel. Development of education to meet the needs of the four modernizations has already become for the present a matter of overall importance, which must be given a high degree of attention by the whole party and the whole society, and we must conscientiously study and earnestly attend to educational work with strategic foresight.

An important aspect of strengthening the party's leadership of educational work is strengthening the political and ideological work in the schools to train reliable socialist successors. Our schools are an important base for the building of a socialist spiritual culture, bearing the heavy task of training a new generation for socialism. Because of this, we must thoroughly implement the party's educational policy and strengthen political and ideological education to make the young into strong, knowledgeable, virtuous, and idealistic people, so they will become the reliable successors to socialist affairs. This is an important problem concerning the destiny and the future of the party and the nation, and it should get a high degree of attention from the whole party. We must conscientiously study the new circumstances and problems of this period, and in accordance with the reality and characteristics of the young students' thinking, develop broad movements of "Study Lai Feng, Create Three Goods, and Establish a New Style" and "Five Discussions, Four Beautifuls." We must conduct education in upholding the four basic principles, which cause the students to adopt the high aims and lofty

aspirations of devoting themselves to the four modernizations, to establish a communist outlook on life, to listen to what the party says, uphold the socialist way, and consciously to resist the influence and erosion of bourgeois thinking. The whole party, the whole society, and each individual household must all take a serious view of the education of youth; school teachers must increasingly teach by word and example, "To teach a subject you must first teach the person, to teach a person you must first teach yourself," and truly become the good teacher and helpful friend of the students, and lead the students toward healthy adulthood.

To strengthen the party's leadership in education, we must adjust the work of education in a down-to-earth manner, and complete the historic task of universal elementary education as quickly as possible. We must pay attention to the development of preschool education and take a firm grasp on universal elementary education in accordance with the general educational circumstances in our province. We must earnestly transform the homogenization of secondary education, reorganize junior middle school, suitably condense senior middle schools, actively and steadily develop agricultural (vocational) middle schools and various kinds of secondary vocational and technical schools. We must open up routes of learning, and energetically develop all forms of adult education, and earnestly operate key schools. In the reorganization of educational affairs, universal elementary education must certainly be made a key point. Elementary education is the foundation of all education, and if we are to raise the quality of education and raise the scientific and cultural level of the whole populace, we must begin with the elementary school. According to the requirements of the Central Committee and the decision of the provincial party committee, the task of establishing universal elementary education throughout the province must be completed during the 1980's. Each area should formulate its own plan for universal elementary education by seeking truth from facts in accordance with the economic and educational foundation and various other conditions and circumstances in that area. In places where conditions are good, it can be done a little earlier and faster; where conditions are deficient, it will be pursued more slowly, but it must be implemented with a positive attitude, organized by group and time period, and not done "at one stroke." To complete the task of universal elementary education, we should uphold the policy of "walking on two legs," meet the production and livelihood needs of the masses, and employ many styles and forms in running the schools. We must focus our efforts on running a group of key schools well, and fan out from that point to the area of promoting the universalization of elementary education. We must be thoroughly attentive to the quality of elementary education, for it can only be truly universal if we strive for quality.

To strengthen the party's leadership over education we must also solve conscientiously and earnestly the actual difficulties and problems that come with the development of education. We must see that the readjustment of education and making elementary education universal is a formidable, complex historical task, requiring the expenditure of money over a longer period than even the readjustment of the economy. Especially because the 10 years of catastrophe left too many bills due on education, and many problems that must be solved. Depending on the financial resources of the area, we ought to consider reducing other expenditures to some extent and increasing some educational funds, with careful calculation and strict budgeting, to obtain an even greater benefit from our limited educational funds. We must be thoroughly attentive to the health of teachers and students

and actively improve the conditions for running the schools. Party and government organs on all levels would do well to suspend the building of their own organizations and first support the building of the schools; we must clean out the warehouses and turn unused furniture over to the schools for their use; the rural communes and brigades particularly, in accordance with their own circumstances, must mobilize the masses and set up schools. If the whole party takes this seriously, and spends 2-3 years or a little longer on it, it will be possible for our province to achieve completely the required "a desk for every student, a room for every class, and no unsafe school buildings."

There are almost 11 million students in elementary and middle school in our province. There is a great deal involved in operating education successfully. Party and government leadership on all levels must certainly regard educational work with a high degree of seriousness, and really place this work on their agenda of importance, go deeply into the schools and constantly, strengthen investigation and research, discover problems and help with their timely solution, and move our province's education ahead as rapidly as possible as an even greater contribution to the four modernizations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

JUDGE NEW POEMS BY MARXIST STANDARDS, VIEWPOINT

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Apr 81 p 4

[Article by Feng Mu [7458 3668]: "Random Chat on the Creation of New Poems"]

[Text] Summary: We should treat the question of the relationship between tradition and renovation according to the Marxist view of literature and art. In order to develop, literature and art must continue to innovate; but innovation cannot depart from the traditional base or from the time in which our country finds itself and the objects of socialist literature and art. As we enter a new historical era, we demand that literature and art give full scope to the positive role they should play in our great new renovation. In the case of obscure, unintelligible poems, we should allow them to exist in the first place, and analyze and guide their creation in the second place. Our poets cannot abandon the weapon of realism; they should set as their highest goal the reflection of the historical era, of the outlook of our social life, and of the social spirit of the time. It is necessary to pose the question of social effect. No one should be without his own purposeful disposition when he proceeds to write. We always hope that a writer can play a promotive role with respect to society and the state. The thinking, standpoint, viewpoint, and feelings of writers and poets should be positive and charged with a sense of responsibility.

I am not well versed in poetry but am only a devotee. I understand very little about the concern everybody expresses today over the question of poetic creation. But in order to exchange opinions with everybody, I wish to talk about some of my own views here.

First of all, after more than 40 years of experience in revolutionary life, after long periods of practice, exploration, and repetition, and after countless happy and painful experiments and suffering--especially during the 4 years since the smashing of the "gang of four"--I have been made to look back, and to learn again that while the path I have traversed in the past was tortuous, the instructions I gained were numerous and profound. The days of the past brought me the pleasure of triumph, but those experiences of fighting and the painful tests have made me consider one question repeatedly all this time, and that is: What attitude should

I maintain regarding the path I selected during the period of my youth? My answer is: I must and should continue to adhere to it. This is because, up to now, among man's thought systems, I regard that of Marxism as the most correct. In spite of the fact that people still encounter this or that kind of problem in terms of their perception and their attempts to apply it, and no state has provided a perfect and successful experience in building a socialist society, when a person becomes advanced in age he often acquires a nearly instinctive habit, a habit of making comparisons and comparing different styles of life. I cannot change my own path of life, which has already become quite fixed; I can only adhere to it and follow it unswervingly to the end. This is not to adhere to and maintain all that was done in the past, nor to blaze a shortcut, but to continue every hour along the path one has opened up according to the correct experiences and lessons of the past.

I have met certain young writers who think that literature and art can only serve literature and art, can only serve those who are engaged in literary and artistic work. How did such an evidently erroneous point of view come about? I think that in literature and art, the difference between us and certain young people merits our concern and deserves to be seriously studied and given its due of very great attention. Since liberation, we already have a second and third generation of persons following the literary and artistic path. Today, there are at least four generations of persons in our great literary and artistic army: the first generation consists of old writers from the 1930's; the second generation consists of writers who have grown through the training of wars and several historical periods; the third generation consists of those in their 40's and 50's who have joined since the country's liberation. Most of the latter cannot depart from the path of their own life, as they have generally gone through a baptism of stormy mass campaign in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's, and some have also sustained serious spiritual wounds. The fourth generation consists of those in their 20's and 30's who have joined the literary and artistic realm with exuberant vigor and thriving and creative spiritual power; they also have had experiences different from those of the two preceding generations. From the very first day when they began to master culture, what the majority among them saw was nothing other than the 10-year catastrophe. Both their sensual and their rational perceptions originated from this decade. On many things they had their own way of looking at them; this was inevitable. Those who are active in the great literary and artistic army belong basically to these four generations. Different experiences and different ways of looking at life also affected people's creative paths. Apart from this, there was another important reason: among comrades who entered life and literary and artistic undertakings in different decades, there was also a question of cultural, educational, and artistic cultivation about which there were great differences. We should correctly treat the question of tradition and the question of innovation: we must continue to create and continue to renovate. Once we lose our renovative and creative vitality, our literature and art are bound to stagnate. As to how to innovate and renovate so as to enable literature and art to reflect time and the life of the people and to enable art forms and their expressive power to adapt to new history, however, there are different points of view. This is not strange, nor is it avoidable. But we cannot depart from the time in which our country finds itself--the time in which we have gone through the experience of 30 years of revolutionary struggles over and over again and through the tests and experiments of both positive and negative experiences. This is a basic point. Literature and

art cannot depart from this basic standpoint--that is, the current condition 30 years later. With the smashing of the "gang of four," we began to enter a new historical period. We must require literature and art to give full scope to the positive role which they should play in our great new renovation. This is the first question; it is one which we cannot avoid and which we must look at squarely.

The next question is the question of the objects of literature and art. Our literature and art serve the people. The reality, which tolerates no neglect, is this: Because our population has not been subject to control for the past 30 years, if all those under 30 years of age are counted as youths, according to our present custom, then youths and children make up 60 percent of our total population, numbering, that is, 600 million, (plus, of course, the middle-aged and old people who are interested in literature and art). These constitute the bulk of the objects of our work, and these likewise constitute the decisive factor affecting our progress. Mainly because these 600 million people are in a position to determine our future and our road ahead, in considering problems, formulating principles, and exploring ideas, etc., we cannot but face this stern reality. So many people--they are toiling, creating, seeing movies, and reading. Some say: Let us allow a division of labor, allow some people to create an elitist literature, create that which is profound and obscure; as long as the products are of a high quality in literary and artistic thought, they would be worth the effort even if they commanded only a limited readership temporarily; and as for the question as to who are willing to create popular literature for the several hundred million toiling people, we should let the matter take its own natural course! I do not agree with this attitude.

It will not do if literature and art fail to consider the above two items. I read the products of young writers regularly, including unpublished products and works appearing in newspapers and journals. Among these, I can appreciate some and I can understand others, but there are also some I cannot stand. Discussion and debate are good things; we must carry them forward. In the case of certain obscure and profound poems, when we cannot understand we can put forward opinions and discuss them. In the realm of novels, Wang Meng [3769 5536] has shown some innovative efforts as he has begun to absorb the techniques of ideological schools (schools of psychological depiction) of the West and offered some exploration. This has caused some people to support him, but other readers express skepticism. This is of course quite normal and gives no cause for much criticism. But some people cannot stand this, saying that if you don't agree, it simply won't do, and that that would be wielding "the stick," and hence "counterattack" would be called for, etc. I am of the opinion that, in respect to the question of art, we should allow different opinions to be expressed; without contention between different opinions, there can be no liveliness. Actually, more comrades, including old writers, are in agreement with Wang Meng's innovations. The situation with respect to poems is similar. When new blood shows up, it can only help further the development of poetic creation; the wider the road becomes, the greater the number of people who trudge along. On the other hand, when young poets are not allowed to explore and innovate, the road may become narrower, with fewer people trudging along. Compared to other forms of art, poetry is in even greater need of strengthening and reinforcement by new blood. Man's blood is of various types; the development of poetic forms should also be of various blood types. With respect to various kinds

of healthy blood, whatever their types, poems should always adopt an attitude of broad reach and comprehensive absorption. I don't agree with excluding any exploration, experimentation, or practice. A man may succeed, or he may not succeed and he again blazes a new path. But in either case, he should have a broad, expansive mind and treat the innovation of all new things and new forms with that mind. This is my basic attitude. Frankly speaking, after I read certain poems of Gu Cheng [7357 1004] and Shu Ting [5289 1250], some of them I can understand and can accept, but some of them I can hardly understand even after studying them time and again. Of course, I hope their poems can be made understandable to the people so as to be liked by them. But if they should find this difficult, then that cannot be helped, and we can only let them exist and let the people themselves decide whether or not to accept them. After they have listened 10 times to the reflections of the people, they are bound to sum up their own experiences.

I think that poems, as an important segment of literary creation, have their own characteristics and their own singular artistic features and laws. On the other hand, they are also a component of literary creation and share certain common laws and special attributes. We must not deny these two aspects. Realism has recently met its challenge. For over 50 years, the pillar which has propped up China's creation has been realism; the attempt to change this main current into some otherism has not yet been made nor scored any success during the past decades. As social phenomena, literature and art achieve their reflection of certain social qualities through vivid, concrete, and typical artistic forms and thereby exert a further influence upon the thinking of the vast ranks of the people. Every literary and artistic creation is liable to exert a certain influence upon the shaping of the ideas and feelings of contemporary people. And in order to achieve this, all literary creations may differ from each other as to whether to depict typical personalities and as to the selection of subject matter; but they must adhere to the principal that life is primary while art is secondary. All creations reflect life and should start with life. Despite the fact that, in poetry, there is a debate between expressions of the micro-self and the macro-self, if the micro-self is closely connected with life, and when a poet considers bringing about his creation he proceeds from life or, in other words, adheres to the basic principle of realism, then there cannot be much of a debate. The principal feature of poems is their lyric nature. Yet during the past 30 years some people have overlooked or underestimated the great significance and role of feelings in symbolism. Poetic feelings are excitement resulting from man's feelings about life; without excitement and feelings, poems simply cannot be poems.

Besides, poems also need more strict and tidy forms, rhythmic schemes and tonal patterns in order to express feelings. It is indispensable that all poems express man's poetic feelings toward life.

How to correctly treat obscure and unintelligible poems? In the first place, we should allow them to exist and refrain from negating them with the rash attitude of prohibition or exclusion. In the second place, we must analyze them and guide their creation. Young people usually compete with one another in the pursuit of this form. It is literary expression of a social character, and it should be subject to analysis and guidance together with social trends and ideological conditions of youths, so as to learn why they have such feelings and why they choose to

adopt this attitude in carrying out their creation. Young people of this type have a despightful attitude toward national traditions. Some openly suggest that today we should not stress national traditions, and they even indiscriminately deprecate those national poems which have been commonly acknowledged to be world masterpieces and precious products. On the other hand, in the case of the West's modern new trends, they simply blindly worship them without analysis. My feeling is that, in their case, we should not stupidly hurl blame but should see that, to a certain degree, this situation may even be inevitable. Ten-odd years of cultural autocracy and suppressive policies on the part of the "gang of four" made them hungry for culture; the emergence of this situation, as a reaction to and resistance against obscurantist policies, is understandable. But understanding it is not the same as acknowledging it to be correct. When we talk about innovation today, there is one principle we must still adhere to, and that is that we must treat the works, and treat the question of the relationship between tradition and renovation, according to the Marxist view of literature and art. Some youths adopt a radical attitude on this matter; some are basically opposed to the suggestion of nationalization, as they take movies simply as imported goods. China needs to become world-minded and internationally minded in order to effect a convergence of the world's most advanced, new literary trends (according to them). I cannot readily support this view. All poets who aim at making contributions to the Motherland and the people cannot possibly be satisfied merely with absorbing nutrition from the world's current works. The great writers and pivotal personalities in literary history could not have achieved such a goal apart from their national traditions. The reason a poet is not commonly acknowledged may be artistic--e.g., he has not scored any breakthroughs or innovations. But what is even more important when a poet of the era writes works that exert an influence over many countries and many generations is that he stands at the forefront of his era, embodies the spirit of that era, and reflects the scroll of life of that historical period through his own thought. One cannot become a great poet of pivotal stature without requiring himself to meet higher standards. As critics and poets, we must strive to discover and foster a generation of fine poets and writers and strive to promote a generation of fine works. We cannot just train some ephemeral current poets. Of course, up to now, when poems are compared to novels, the achievements new poets have scored cannot yet be said to have exhibited a new peak. It can only be said that the emergence of many new poets has enabled us to see a very hopeful vista ahead. We must endeavor to encourage them to reflect our era, establish their own singular style, and acquire due artistic character and ideological depth.

I firmly believe that our poets cannot abandon the weapon of realism. Nor do I support the practice of providing a simple interpretation to the slogan of realism, such as requiring the depiction of typical characters in a typical environment and thereby imposing such a requirement on all poems. Is it entirely impossible for poems to reach such a state? Great poets in history, Byron, Shelley, Pushkin, Lermontov, even including Whitman, Yessenin, who were especially well versed in writing lyric poems were all able to perceive the spiritual and social outlook of their era. They expressed this by the writer's singular lyric mode, and not through portraits of personalities or plots. If realism is not mechanically interpreted, no writer would reject this principle: that is, one should take the reflection of one's historical era, outlook of social life, and social spirit as one's highest goal. History can illustrate that many poets can achieve this. If one can only

depict the minute emotional ripples of the narrow circle of the micro-self, or can only engage in depicting one's individual feelings, he may become a poet but he will not become a great poet.

I always hope that in a not too long historical period outstanding writers and poets may emerge, not just writers and poets who have written some characteristic works and whose breadth and depth in reflecting life remain rather minor. We must not be satisfied merely with current writers. One must strive to become a writer solidly standing on his national soil. The literary history of the world and China is a long river and exhibits common laws. The literary history of China is to a great extent a history of poetry. The literary history of Greece and Rome is also a history of poetry. Lyric poems and poetic dramas have existed side by side. The plays of Shakespeare are all poetic dramas. Poetic dramas have been greatly developed in foreign countries. And the development of Chinese poetry has its own special character. There may not have been very many novelists in China's ancient literary history, but there were plenty of poets. Perhaps it has been only in China that poetry acquired such a lofty status and that a continuous history of poetry existed. The most famous poets were all able to reflect the spiritual outlook of life in their respective eras and in history. They were not just poets who happened to have written a few idiosyncratic, special, obscure poems. Those who represented the peak of Tang poetry were, after all, Li Bai, Du Fu, and Bai Juyi. The great extent to which Bai Juyi influenced Japanese culture exceeded our expectations. This had to do with the fact that his poems were able to reflect the spiritual outlook of society in his time. In a word, in the first place we must fully mobilize the enthusiasm of all poets who are interested in socialist literature and refrain from pouring cold water on them, and in the second place we must strive to become fine poets and let ourselves shoulder heavy tasks. It will not do if we simply shed tears while looking at flowers and vent our grief while facing the moon.

As young people, they need to strengthen themselves in many aspects. First of all, they should increase their knowledge of history abundantly. I do not agree with what one journal has said in its inaugural statement: "Bygones are bygones." We are the posterity of past ages. We still use square characters to write our poems, and the glossary we use remains the same as that of the past. If, as has been suggested, "we must break free from all traditions," this is still one tradition from which we cannot break free. This does not mean depending on traditions, since traditions do carry with them a great deal of inertia. But talking glibly about innovation apart from traditions would be like planting a tree in a place that lacks soil: it is impossible.

At the same time, we must encourage young writers to study Marxist theories and strengthen themselves with knowledge and feelings relating to contemporary social life, so that they can actively and continually elevate their ideological level, expand their vision, and change certain situations in which they are merely satisfied with confining themselves in their own narrow spiritual realms. Unable to see advanced steps, the vision of a writer can never be expanded, and he will thus forever be unable to stand at the pinnacle of his era in observing life. I hope everybody will try to change a bit the angle and method by which he observes life. It is impossible to formulate an accurate, comprehensive judgment on life if one

simply dives in where the waves appear to be the heaviest and refrains from going beyond. Some experiences of young people are unpleasant or even grievous; this is no cause for blaming them, but they must not be satisfied with staying there. They must not be recorders of their own lives but should also strive to become warriors propelling life forward. One must subscribe to purposefulness when one engages in writing something; influence others and influence society through my reflection of life. One kind of influence is to play a positive role, and one kind is to play a bad role. Some people tend to feel repulsed by the expression "social effects"; they even allege that when social effects are talked about, it means that social effects themselves are not very good. I think it is necessary to bring in social effects. In an article of mine written in January 1980, I expounded on this question in some detail. No one can possibly engage in creation without his own purposefulness, without his own social views, political views, views of life, and moral views (not necessarily systematic). When engaged in creation, you cannot, apart from the sufficient accumulation you have of life's experiences, help but express your views, likes, and dislikes consciously or unconsciously through symbolism. You cannot altogether ignore the consideration of social effects. Writing an article is always purposeful and carries one's own theme. Some object to their works having to carry any theme; in reality this is like saying nothing. One always writes with a theme. It is possible only that one's analysis is different; one did not premeditate it, so that discrepancy does exist. Belinsky is especially good at systematically and theoretically dissecting the thematic ideas of people's works more clearly and accurately than even the writers themselves can. We are firmly opposed to interference by way of this and by way of that. Some people actually often use this as a pretext to negate certain works. Some people take literary and artistic works as recreational products. Once they see a work exceeding this effect and touching people's souls, causing people to reflect in depth and arousing them to the belief that the consequences resulting from the Cultural Revolution must be changed, they immediately find it unacceptable. Are social effects meant only to give you a pleasant weekend? Invigorating your soul, causing you to reflect, and arousing you to certain beliefs: are these not social effects? These, in fact, are the greatest social effects a work should have. When the social effects of some works prove not very good, there is also a question of feelings involved. We always hope that a work can play a promotive role with respect to society and the state and can foster an even loftier ideological state for the generation of new people. We always hope that the ideas and feelings of writers are fairly healthy and progressive, not downcast, dejected, pessimistic, or despairing. The thinking, standpoint, viewpoint, and feelings of writers and poets should always be positive, charged with a sense of social responsibility; they should advocate something and oppose something. Can such a requirement be in error?

The reason why some poems are written in such an unintelligible and obscure way, I think, is perhaps because the authors themselves have failed to do their clear thinking on the subject matter with which they deal. Or the authors have done their reflecting on life and captured many images, but when these are written they cannot be savored by the readers. This is one situation.

In the case of some poems, I have considered them time and again and also talked with the authors themselves about them, but I still cannot quite understand them. This shows that when these poets considered and structured their themes, they

failed to do clear thinking on the things they were trying to reflect. Many blurred, hazy things became entangled. The [poets] were not clear where the substance was, so therefore the readers cannot understand them. This is a lack of clear logic (symbolic thinking is also logical).

Some poems give people the impression that their plotting is good and they embody profound experiences in life, but the authors lack the ability to find appropriate forms and techniques of expression to demonstrate them. Or their ability is not equal to their desires, and their words fail to convey their ideas. This is where authors need to strengthen themselves with literary knowledge, to heighten their artistic cultivation, and to read more products of others. Many youths have never read some of the well-known works, and their technical preparedness falls rather short. In certain individual cases, they purposely turn simple things into mysteries. While lacking feelings about life, they dream of startling the world with a single brilliant feat by blindly pursuing this kind of poetic motif which they themselves consider esthetic. In reality, they are looking at their own reflections and admiring themselves, and making a fuss about an imaginary malady.

It is my hope that when those in the circles of poetry journals and poetry critics carry out their ordinary tasks—that is, when they pay attention to the discovery of fine works and the discovery of newly successful poets—they at the same time will emphasize two things:

First, they will put emphasis on the study of the phenomenon of new poems that have already appeared. Why did they write such poems? What is the state of their artistic creation and ideology, and what are their views on life and politics? Only thus can youths be guided toward the broad and healthy path of development.

Second, with respect to the assessment of results in poetic creation, opinions appear to vary. Especially during the past 4 years, we have traversed a tortuous path on the one hand, and there have been many problems which have warranted our study on the other hand. How can we correctly assess the achievements in this field of new poetry during the past 30 years? How can we correctly assess the literary and artistic results and problems of the past 4 years? During these past few years, we still have not seen a single systematic, fair essay of criticism which exhibited an attitude of historicism (unbiased). Critics and editorial departments cannot treat this question with their personal feelings (even those of only minor partiality). In order to preclude the factor of bias associated with personal feelings, we must exhibit the most elastic tolerance toward all artistic schools, forms, and styles, and we cannot substitute impressions, feelings, and artistic bias for policy. Under the guidance of the principle of making literature and art serve the people and socialism, we must unwaveringly adhere to the double-hundred principle and provide a broad world of creation to all writers and poets, including their freedom to perceive, observe, and tap the resources of life and control their subject matters and themes—including the freedom to select the forms which they consider to be best for expressing their ideas. We must not prescribe any framework for the form of poetry; from form to content, poetry should have a broad world.

Although there have been many zigzags during the 30 years of poetic writing, it still continues to advance and still advances amid the continual summing-up of its

experiences and lessons. The writing of poetry still awaits the creative endeavor of more poets. The achievements of poetic writing cannot be underestimated. Although it does not compare favorably with the writing of novels, since no mature poets have yet appeared, we must still acknowledge that the prospects are fine.

(This article has been formulated on the basis of the author's statements made at the forum on poetic theory in September 1980.)

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PARTY AND STATE

XINJIANG INCIDENT AS NARRATED BY PARTICIPANT

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 6, 1 Jun 81 pp 12-16

[Article by Lu Wen [6424 2429]: "I Went Through the Xinjiang Incident." For related article see JPRS 78505, 14 Jul 81 No 204 of this series pp 106-113]

[Excerpt] Editor's Note: After this journal reported on "The Truth About the Disturbing Incident in Xinjiang" in its last issue, we soon received a letter from a Shanghai youth in Xinjiang telling us in great detail the whole story about the Xinjiang incident. This report corrected the inaccuracies in our last issue concerning this incident and added not a few details that were unknown to the outside world. Here we recommend the whole text to our readers and, by way of convenience, also express our thanks to Mr Lu Wen for his letter.

Issue No 43 of CHENG MING reported in detail the disturbing incident which took place at the end of last year in Xinjiang. When we in the remote frontier area saw that people overseas were paying attention to, and showing concern over, our fate and were reporting the truth of the incident, our state of mind was really one of incredible pleasure. Regrettably, the report was still not very accurate, or it omitted certain things which should have been included. This may have to do with the fact that the author was unable to conduct comprehensive interviews and news-gathering operations. Here we wish to report further to overseas readers the things which have taken place at this place by virtue of our status as people directly involved.

Trend To Return to the City and To Appeal to Those Above

After the gang of four was overthrown, Deng Xiaoping became an ironfisted man in promoting new political and economic policies. He explicitly pointed out that sending urban intellectual youths to the mountains and the countryside was an unpopular measure which wasted manpower and money. That was indeed a fact. Because of Deng Xiaoping's indication of his attitude, governmental departments formulated anew their policies concerning intellectual youths. The urban intellectual youths who had been sent to the countryside to join the production brigades or to settle down and who were assigned to the farms from various cities

in regions across the country during the period of the "Cultural Revolution" were all allowed to be transferred back to the cities, one contingent after another, and jobs were arranged for them. Thus there emerged a nationwide trend for these youths to return to the cities. Those youths who met the requirements of this policy at the time returned to the cities under arrangements made by labor bureaus. Those who did not meet these policy requirements, or for whom arrangements were still not decided on by governmental departments, such as workers and cadres sent down after 1958 and staff members and workers supporting construction projects in the interior, thus all demanded to return to their original cities. When this trend to return to the city spread to Xinjiang, its impact on the Shanghai youths there was very great. As far as Shanghai was concerned, those who were transferred en masse away from Shanghai before the "Cultural Revolution" consisted entirely of these 100,000 youths sent to Xinjiang. Those who were sent down during the "Cultural Revolution" went to Heilongjiang, Inner Mongolia, Yunnan, and like places. Those who were assigned to the countryside to join the production brigades went to Anhui, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Guizhou, and similar provinces. Once the trend to return to the city got started, the Shanghai youths in the aforesaid places were all successively transferred back to Shanghai with their jobs newly arranged, whereas the 100,000 in Xinjiang were somehow not transferred back. Out in Xinjiang, on the other hand, in addition to Shanghai youths, those who came here to support the frontier area also included youths from Jiangsu, Beijing, Tianjin, and like places. As part of this trend to return to the city, youths from other places successively returned to their original places, while once again these youths from Shanghai alone were not transferred in any way. Now from the point of view of the whole country, among the intellectual youths sent to the mountains and countryside it was only the Shanghai youths supporting the Xinjiang frontier area who could not return to their original places. In the face of such a situation, how could the Shanghai youths remain calm and satisfied? While they were trying hard to figure out what was the matter, news from Shanghai spread to Xinjiang indicating that after Shanghai youths on farms in Yunnan caused a disturbance, they were transferred back to Shanghai, and that farms in the two counties of Fengxian and Chongming on the outskirts of Shanghai needed a great deal of labor power. Under these circumstances, Shanghai youths began seriously to negotiate and establish contacts among themselves. This movement was expanded from the confines of the farms to all of Aksu Prefecture in preparation for collective activity. In an unwritten way they agreed on three methods of solving their problem, with different levels of priority: in the plan with top priority they would all return to the Shanghai municipal areas; in the intermediate priority plan they would go to farms in Chongming and Fengxian; and in the plan with lowest priority they would request reassignment to jobs in industrial and mining enterprises so that they would not have to till the fields any longer. Because they formulated their goals and demands, the youths thus started to organize themselves to discuss their effective methods of struggle.

After the smashing of the gang of four, the CCP Central Committee paid great attention to the handling of those who appealed to higher authorities; special reception offices were set up in all departments in Beijing to handle such appeal visits. The central leaders were saying that, with people making visits to appeal to their superiors directly, it indicated that the atmosphere of

of democracy had become more pronounced, and that making such appeal visits was the normal right of citizens and hence was protected by law. For once, making visits to appeal to those above appeared thus to have become the quick way to solve problems and an activity in vogue; from the point of view of the actual situation, making such visits really also solved no small number of problems. This trend to appeal to those above quickly spread to Xinjiang. The Shanghai youths there recognized that, rather than contact Xinjiang leaders locally, a better way would be to go directly to Beijing to single out a department with real power that could solve their problem in a fundamental manner. Once the people there signaled acceptance to handle their appeal, the matter would be entirely solved. After they had settled on this decision, a Shanghai Youth Association, accordingly, declared its establishment in Aksu in the spring of 1979, and a delegation was organized to go to the capital to make the appeal.

First Appeal Visit

The first appeal visit was made in mid-April 1979. The delegation was made up of more than 10 Shanghai youths. The expenses and wages of members of the appeal delegation to Beijing were all voluntarily contributed by Shanghai youths on various farms in Aksu Prefecture (with a total contribution of about 10,000 yuan in Renminbi). The operational capability of the members of the delegation was relatively strong: they were generally rather eloquent; they understood the prevailing policies and enjoyed definite prestige among the masses; and everybody had confidence in them. On the day of the delegation's departure, the sendoff scene staged by the masses was quite magnificent. The masses carried on their shoulders large billboards with slogans and presented flowers to the delegates to show their unity, confidence, and strength. The delegation's preparatory work prior to departure had been well done. They collected data on how Shanghai youths had been subjected to discrimination and persecution in Xinjiang during the past 10-odd years, and they invited those who had been victimized to write personal letters of appeal. They also conducted investigations as to how the local governments in Xinjiang had failed to carry out the regulations, promulgated over the years by the government, on wages and salaries for staff and workers in Xinjiang and on their transfer, so that they could use [the information] as data to appeal to the central authorities. In the meantime, the Shanghai Youth Association set up a liaison center in Aksu in order to maintain contact with the appeal delegation at all times by telegraph and telephone. The delegation itself formulated a strict rule prescribing that all matters were subject to collective discussion, collective action, and collective decision; it was strictly forbidden for any individual to attempt to express opinions in the name of the delegation. Their considerations may be said to be very careful, indeed.

The appeal delegation took the train to the capital. The department to which they were to present their appeal was the head office of the State Bureau of Reclamation. Because that bureau was the leading department of the country's land-reclaim system, the farms in Xinjiang came under its jurisdiction. When the appeal delegation arrived in Beijing, the head office of the State Bureau of Reclamation dispatched relatively high-ranking cadres to meet with the Shanghai youths. Leaders at bureau level also received the delegates. During the meeting, the appeal delegation told the head office of conditions surrounding Shanghai youths in Xinjiang during the past 10-odd years and submitted the

request that they hoped to be transferred back to Shanghai. The atmosphere at the meeting was tense and not very harmonious. Toward questions raised by the delegates concerning subsidies for the youths' frontier wages, concerning their withdrawal on account of illness, and concerning their advance substitution for their retiring parents at their jobs in Shanghai, representatives of the head office never showed any sincerity or patience. Instead, they employed a double-dealing approach from the very beginning: now they randomly reproached the delegates; now they consoled them in soothing words. Thus they alternated between a soft and a hard tack. They avoided the substance of the questions, choosing to express irrelevant and unimportant opinions. Outside the meeting hall, they chatted with the youths in honeyed words, talking about their own difficulties and expressing sympathy toward the youths. They kept down the lid of their contradictions so as to do all they could to avoid provoking the delegates, to control the activities of the delegates, and to prevent the contradictions from spreading into society. After 10 days or so of meetings, the delegation was told:

1. The head office of the Reclamation Bureau will send a work team to Xinjiang to carry out an actual investigation of the conditions of the Shanghai youths.
2. The request made by the Shanghai youths to return to Shanghai must be decided jointly through discussion by the head office of the Reclamation Bureau, the local governments in Xinjiang, and the Shanghai local government; the location of the discussion of the questions is not to be in Beijing nor in Shanghai, but should be in Xinjiang.
3. The delegation is to go back to Xinjiang first, and the work team will follow immediately when the work team reaches Aksu it will send care to take the delegates to Aksu and hold the discussions there. It was said at the same time that when they next met, they would all be well acquainted with one another, so that when there was an opportunity, they would also go to the delegates' farms to visit them.

Delegates of the appeal visit group took to heart what they heard in this regard and hence agreed to the views expressed by the head office and returned to Aksu after just a few days. After getting back to Xinjiang, they relayed to the Shanghai youths the situation about their meetings in Beijing on the one hand, and patiently awaited the arrival of the work team on the other hand.

As the days went by, they never saw any sign of the work team or obtained any definite information about it, and still less could they expect to see any cars coming to pick up the delegates. The Shanghai youths knew that things had changed, and hence they had the premonition that they had been deceived and had fallen into a trap. Yet in reality a work team did actually come to Aksu Prefecture, except that it did not do so in the name of the work team of the head office of the Reclamation Bureau, but as a delegation under the pretext of inspecting water conservancy work and agricultural production, arriving in Xinjiang in secrecy and even making rounds to the farms. Shortly after the work team departed, leaders of the farms declared that the Shanghai Youth Association was an illegal organization and thereby ordered it to dissolve immediately. They also pointed out that from then on the Shanghai youths were no longer allowed to maintain contact with one another or to engage in activities, and that otherwise they would be charged with any consequences that took place thereafter. The circular at the farms determined that the action of the Shanghai youths in making the appeal visit was in error, and it issued an implied warning against any repetition of similar action from then on. After the circular was issued, leaders

of the farms also applied private pressure on delegates of the appeal visit group. Before long, the Shanghai Youth Association existed in name only. Therefore, the first appeal visit turned out to be visibly a failure.

The Second Appeal Visit

Slightly more than a month later, the embers of anger caused by falling into a trap and being deceived during the first appeal visit were rekindled. Part of those Shanghai youths who were intemperate in disposition and who had dared to take action started once again to contact one another actively. They declared: Since ancient times, no rebellion staged by scholars has ever achieved great results; civil struggle, reasoning, and appeal all resulted in their being fooled and deceived. If they wished to make a stir at all, they might as well make it big; therefore, let those who had the guts step forward and go to Beijing once again, and unless something was achieved, let them never recall their fighting men. Thus they decided to thoroughly change the mode of their last appeal visit and determined to let themselves get arrested and imprisoned while making efforts again to raise the needed funds. The number of persons involved in this appeal visit increased by several times over the previous one, and the qualities of the delegation members were also considerably different.

The delegates first gathered in Urumqi Municipality and lodged at the purchasing depot installed by Aksu Prefecture in Urumqi; then they prepared to take the train to the capital. This action of going to the capital on the part of the appeal delegation worried the leaders of the Xinjiang Autonomous Region very badly. They hurriedly sent a telegram to the central authorities to report that the Shanghai youths were preparing to make big trouble in Beijing, and they requested instructions accordingly. That was in August, not too long before the annual National Day. Since the momentum of action this time seemed so fierce, if it really led to trouble in Beijing the consequences would be serious and the impact would be great. The central authorities also changed their approach in coping with it this time. They ordered the Xinjiang Autonomous Region Party Committee to take urgent measures to stop the Shanghai youths and not allow them to leave Xinjiang. In the meantime, they also notified the provinces and municipalities along the railroad route from Urumqi to Beijing and Shanghai to reinforce their measures to cut off the Shanghai youths and to proceed to detain them at their places of arrival and then send them back to Xinjiang under supervision. After receiving the notice by telephone, the leaders of Xinjiang immediately took action. In the deep of the night, when everything was quiet and the delegates were mostly sound asleep, the authorities surrounded the lodging areas of the delegates and detained them and then sent them either to the 1 August Steel Works or to the prison in Urumqi Municipality to be kept there under guard. The 1 August Steel Works was guarded by a workers inspection team; the portion of the delegates detained at the prison, on the other hand, were locked up together with the prisoners. This detention lasted about a month or so altogether. During this action of shock attack, those delegates who escaped from being grabbed at first were eventually stopped and detained, with the criminal label of "fugitives" imposed upon them, at Xian, Nanjing, Shanghai, etc, and locked up in the local public security bureaus. Later, they too were sent back to Xinjiang. All the delegates were ultimately picked up at Urumqi and taken back by persons

sent from the farms where they were respectively stationed. Thus, the second appeal visit also was shortlived.

Course of the Struggle by Fasting in the Winter of 1980

Both appeal visits had failed. The Shanghai youths were neither subjugated nor willing to stop. They were unwilling to acquiesce in the deprivation of their legitimate right to making the appeal visits and were unwilling to stay voluntarily for the rest of their lives in Xinjiang. It could be definitely said that so long as the problems of the Shanghai youths were not reasonably solved, a new struggle was bound to take place. This was like a room full of inflammable air, which needed only a tiny spark to set off a big explosion. The disturbing incident last winter took place precisely under such circumstances.

Last winter, the number of Shanghai youths gathering in Aksu amounted merely to several thousand. Their organization was not even as tight as that of the two previous appeal visits, nor was their goal to go to Beijing again. They demonstrated in a procession to try to win the support of public opinion in order to reasonably solve problems that had remained unsolved for many years. Little did they know that the Public Security Bureau of Aksu Prefecture had chosen to step forward to interfere, alleging that the youths' procession hampered traffic and public order. This served exactly to provoke the Shanghai youths. They were originally to submit an appeal to the Aksu Prefectural Party Committee and the Bureau of Reclamation; the matter thus had had nothing to do with the Public Security Bureau. Now that the Public Security Bureau had chosen to interfere, the spearhead of the struggle was immediately directed at the Public Security Bureau. With the original flame of anger having nowhere else to spread, it now unfurled with all its force at the Public Security Bureau. They rushed into the Public Security Bureau, occupied the office building, and gathered more and more people. The incident quickly expanded in scope. Shanghai youths started to pour into Aksu in an organized manner from farms on both sides of the Tarim River. They also occupied the office buildings of the Aksu Prefectural Party Committee and the Bureau of Reclamation. Later, they also resorted to the method of staging a fast in order to put pressure on the leaders. A large mass movement thus became gradually organized and purposeful, with still more uniform steps.

A person especially worthy of mention during this incident was a Shanghai youth named Ouyang Lian [2962 7122 6647]. He volunteered to step forward to take the lead, and this had a rather great impact on the struggle. Ouyang Lian was a disabled Shanghai youth who was already divorced; a child left to him had been given away to someone else. His health was very bad, and he was called "half a life" by others. He thrust himself forward and asked others to listen to his commands in order to make their steps uniform. He pointed out that, among the reasons for the failure of several appeal demonstrations in the past, a very important one was the lack of a powerful, concentrated leadership, and thus on key moments in the development of their undertakings their opinions were thus often diffused and lacking in unity, and hence their actions were not consistent. He was not afraid of being executed nor of being thrown into prison; he was determined to put his life at stake in the interests of everyone else. Because of his call, hundreds and thousands of Shanghai youths became tightly united.

This struggle by fasting attracted the participation of more than 1,000 (not up to 10,000, as rumored in the outside world), including both male and female youths. Altogether, they persisted 6 or 7 days in their fast. During this period, some 200 fell because of their physical inability to sustain the strain; they were sent to the local hospital for treatment. The fasting did not result in any deaths. While on the one hand the Shanghai youths gathered in Aksu, at the same time they organized large contingents to ride on trucks in an attempt to rush to Urumqi Municipality to expand the activity and impact. The 20 or 30 trucks which departed earliest unfortunately ran into an accident when some of them overturned on their way; two died as a result, and over 20 were injured. The contingent therefore did not advance any further. At this juncture, news was received by grapevine, too, that the central authorities had dispatched people to Xinjiang to get rid of the Shanghai youths. Hence the youths from Aksu turned back in the middle of the march. But scared by this large-scale struggle by fasting staged by the Shanghai youths, the Aksu Prefectural Party Committee was forced to agree to the request by the Shanghai youths that they be returned to Shanghai, and also to agree to distribute their residence cards to them. Up to this point, the Shanghai youths had won their struggle.

The youths returned to their respective farms and sold their furniture and other miscellaneous things that could not be conveniently taken back to Shanghai. Everyone also received a permit to transfer his residence, and 200 yuan Renminbi for moving expenses. Under the sponsorship of the farm leaders, a sendoff meeting was held. At the meeting, contributions made by Shanghai youths during the previous 10-odd years toward the construction and the defense of the frontier area were summed up; their achievements and toil were exalted; wishes were expressed that, since they had accomplished what they came there for and were now returning to Shanghai, they would henceforth continue to strive for the construction of the four modernizations. The atmosphere at the meeting was friendly and enthusiastic.

The trouble stirred up by the Shanghai youths in Aksu quickly spread to two other localities in southern Xinjiang where Shanghai youths resided--Kashi and Korla. The Shanghai youths there also started to make trouble. In view of the fact that Aksu had already agreed to the request of the Shanghai youths, leaders of these two areas quickly made similar decisions. By this time, the problems of the Shanghai youths in southern Xinjiang were also solved. The youths were thus very pleased and elatedly engaged in making preparations to return to Shanghai.

But the development and outcome of events often go beyond man's expectations. The unilateral decision in Xinjiang were by no means approved by the central authorities. The Shanghai municipal government also would not agree to accept back the youths sent out to support Xinjiang. Pressure was at once exerted from the central authorities downwards. Beijing indicated that the trouble created by the Shanghai youths in Xinjiang was a "counterrevolutionary incident." The residence transfer permits issued by the Xinjiang local governments were invalid. Shanghai also indicated that it was not going to allow them to register as incoming residents, nor would it arrange jobs for them. Shanghai youths were ordered not to leave Xinjiang; they must at once return to their farms and engage in labor. Along with the conveying of these urgent orders downward, the Central

Military Commission transferred troops from Lanzhou to Xinjiang to take up the task of stopping the Shanghai youths. The specific measures were: Those who went to train stations to buy train tickets must show certificates provided by the Xinjiang local governments, or else no tickets would be sold to them; train stations were not to accept checked luggage for transportation elsewhere; Shanghai youths gathering at train stations were to be detained respectively at the hostels provided by the three districts of Aksu, Kashi, and Korla near the Turpan train station and were not allowed to move around at random. The Shanghai youths themselves, their children, and their luggage were to be sent back to their original places by military trucks manned by troops. It was indeed more than adequate for fully armed soldiers to cope with totally unarmed youths. There was no conflict whatsoever between the youths and the soldiers. In the total absence of resistance of any kind, the youths were once again returned to their original farms in batches. As for the small number of youths who reached Shanghai before the intervention by the troops, Shanghai uniformly declined to allow them to register as incoming residents, and they were placed under close supervision by the local public security departments and street committees. They could not assemble and were not allowed to submit appeals to local governmental departments; otherwise, they would be "accommodated" at once and sent back to Xinjiang under guard. The incident that took place in Aksu last winter thus came to a close in this manner.

The Authorities Must Show Sincerity

Within slightly more than 2 years, the Shanghai youths in Aksu organized a total of three collective activities. In particular, the third--that is, the struggle by fasting last winter--actually won the sympathy of the masses of the various local strata. When they occupied the office buildings of various governmental departments, they encountered no obstacles whatsoever, because the intermediate and lower level cadres supported them. These cadres had mostly been transferred to Xinjiang from various parts of the country within the past 20 years, and they had no feelings for Xinjiang either; they all hoped to be transferred back to their own native places. The request made by the Shanghai youths was also their own request; they sympathized with each other because of a common malady, and there was a mutual response between them. In addition, PLA warriors of the Aksu military subdistrict also supported the Shanghai youths, because during the nationality disputes that took place before the Shanghai youths made trouble in Aksu Prefecture, the troops were on the side that was suppressed. They were dissatisfied with the local nationality policies and dissatisfied with the bureaucratic air of those above. They sympathized with the situation in which the Shanghai youths found themselves, and they thus stood on the side of the Shanghai youths. This was the reason why, after the incident took place, the authorities could only send troops from Lanzhou to stop the Shanghai youths. As for the parents of these Shanghai youths, they all hoped that their children, who had left their homes nearly 20 years ago, would be able to return to Shanghai and be reunited with their families. When they went to Xinjiang, they were but naive youths; now they all had their own families. Going to Xinjiang was induced by circumstances at the time. If now they could return to Shanghai and get assigned to a job so that they could live independently without creating an economic burden on their families at home, would this not be a most welcome event?!

The reason the problems in Xinjiang exploded time and again was fundamentally because of the government's policies and approaches to their execution. The policies of developing and defending the frontiers were entirely correct and in accord with the country's interest in economic development and national security; they have been above reproach from that standpoint either then or now. But correct policies require correct approaches to implement them. Xinjiang was in need of a large number of immigrants. What merited consideration was whether these immigrants must be taken from the big city of Shanghai 10,000 li away. Granted that the mobilization of youths from Shanghai to emigrate there was a measure of expediency at the time, and that the various difficulties and problems which took shape later could not be foreseen. But after the appearance of various contradictions and the coming into being of a latent factor of inability some years thereafter, the authorities should have proceeded to solve and cope with them with sincerity. The Shanghai youths number 100,000, and they came to Xinjiang 16 or 17 years ago: these two numbers alone should have caused leaders of the state to pay sufficient attention. Granted further that the requests by the youths were inappropriate in certain aspects, and that the actions they adopted also hampered production, but what the government leaders did was not to assist or guide them but to attach to them lightly the labels of "illegality" and "counterrevolution." Was this the way to exemplify democracy? The reason the problems in Xinjiang occurred at all was fundamentally because leaders of the government completely lacked the elementary sincerity required to solve the practical difficulties of the Shanghai youths. Without sincerity, no problems can be solved. Without sincerity, a situation is bound to occur where those responsible will drag their feet as long as they can, pass the buck as long as they can, shirk their responsibility as long as they can, and deceive as long as they can. Those who were in power remained in power and those who were in office, whether subject to transfers here or there or not, retained their office, while the common people, those tens of thousands of Shanghai youths, suffered beyond their capacity in running fruitlessly back and forth several times between Shanghai and Xinjiang at the expense of their nearly exhausted family resources. What goal could people have had when they braved cold weather of over 20 degrees below zero in harsh wintry months and withstood a fast that completely deprived them of food for 6 or 7 days? I should like to urge the authorities to exercise their empathy in this regard. Today, the future of these Shanghai youths remains precarious. So long as their problems are not solved, so long will a crisis remain latent there.

9255

CSO: 4005/677

PARTY AND STATE

PRIVATE PUBLICATIONS CLOSED DOWN; PUBLISHERS ARRESTED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHUI NIEH-TAI (THE SEVENTIES) in Chinese No 6, Jun 81 pp 15-17

[Article by Ji Zhi [7162 0037]: "Chronology of the Dissident Movement, 1979-1981"]

[Text] (Editor's note: By the end of 1978, a group of youths began to criticize and lodge protests with the Chinese Communist authorities. They have been named by some people members of a democratic movement or youth democratic group and by others, political dissenters. In this article, we call them members of the "Youth Democratic Group," a title given by Wang Xishe [3769 1585 0772]. These youths unanimously demand democracy, despite their different views resulting from their different interpretations of democracy. The following is an account of their major activities over the past 2 years and of the Chinese Communist efforts to suppress them. Most of the information given here is unconfirmed and therefore can be used only as reference material for the benefit of readers.)

1979

On 18 January, Fu Yuehua [0265 2588 5478] was arrested because he organized peasants to see those at the top. On 29 March, Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932], editor of TIANBU [EXPLORER], a private publication, was arrested. On 4 April, Ren Yuanting [0117 3979 3937] and Chen Lu [7115 2464], members of the "Chinese Human Rights Union," a civil rights organization, were arrested because they displayed big-character posters protesting the authorities' arrest of Fu Yuehua.

On 16 October, the people's court sentenced Wei Jingsheng to 15 years in prison for committing the counterrevolutionary crimes of providing foreigners with military information and inciting the people to overthrow the political power under the dictatorship of the proletariat. On 6 November, the Beijing Higher People's Court rejected Wei Jingsheng's appeal. Later, the same court sentenced Fu Yuehua to 2 years in prison.

On 11 November, staff members of SIWU LINTAN (5 APRIL FORUM), a private publication, were arrested by public security personnel for selling transcribed copies recording the trial of Wei Jingsheng before the Xidan "democracy" wall. Its responsible person, Liu Qing [0491 7320], was detained by the public security bureau when he went there to inquire about the arrests.

1980

On 16 January, Deng Xiaoping delivered a report denouncing Wei Jingsheng and other members of the "democratic group" for their antiparty and antisocialist activities, and proposing a crackdown on the "four big voices."

In March, staff members of WUMINGSHE, [ANONYMOUS JOURNAL], another private publication in Kaifeng, Henan Province, were forced by officials to attend a "study class." The [publication's] responsible person, Hu Changqing [4476 7022 3237], committed suicide by throwing himself onto the railroad tracks. At the same time, private publications throughout the country suffered blows in different ways. For example, publications were confiscated and their staff was intimidated and beaten up.

In July, private publications were informed that Liu Qing had been sentenced to 3 years of hard labor and was about to serve his term in Shaanxi. Sixteen private publications then moved to rescue Liu Qing by forming the "National Rescue Liu Qing Commission," with an appeal to people at home and abroad.

In August, Wang Xishe, chief writer of LI YIZHE BIG-CHARACTER POSTER, sent a letter concerning the trial of Liu Qing to deputies to the Fifth National People's Congress contending that the verdict against him was unconstitutional. In the same month, representatives of private publications throughout the country went to Guangzhou for a meeting whose purpose was to form a national private publications union and to plot steps to rescue Liu Qing. The first three arrivals in Guangzhou--Zhong Yueqiu [6945 4727 4428], Zhu Jianbin [2616 1696 2430], and Zhang Jingsheng [1728 0079 3932]--were arrested by public security personnel at the home of Ho Qiu [0149 3061], responsible person of RENMIN SHILU [PEOPLE'S ROAD], in Guangzhou. Zheng Yulin [6774 3768 2651] of Wenzhou was secretly arrested while on his way to Guangzhou. All of them were freed shortly after their arrest.

In October, the "China National Private Publications Association" was officially inaugurated, along with its bi-monthly ZIREN [RESPONSIBILITY]. At the beginning it had 21 private publications as members, and later its membership increased to 33.

During this period, elections of deputies to local people's congresses took place throughout the country. Among the active candidates for deputies were activities from private publications and a number of college students. For example, Fu Shengqi [0263 3947 1142] of MINZHU ZHINSHENG [VOICE OF DEMOCRACY] was a candidate running for the office of deputy from the first election zone in Manshi District, Shanghai Municipality. But his candidacy was denounced by the district election office, which had his name eliminated from the list of officially approved candidates. In November, Beijing University students Wang Juntao [3769 6511 3447], Hu Ping [5170 1627], Zhang Wei [1728 3555], Fang Zhiyuan [2075 1807 6678], and others became candidates for deputies to the Haidian District People's Congress. Hu Ping was elected to the people's congress. In addition, students from Fudan University, Shanghai Normal College, Hunan Normal College, Guilzhou University, Hunan Normal University, and Shandong Normal College also joined the list of candidates for deputies to the local people's congresses. But Hunan Normal College students who were candidates were denounced and harassed by school authorities. A scuffle subsequently took place.

In December, 22 Beijing University students, including Fang Zhiyuan, drew up a "Law of the People's Republic of China Regulating Publications, Printing and Distribution (draft)" and brought it to the people for their signature.

1981

Early in 1981, officials began openly to denounce private publications organizations and their members. A commentator's article appeared in the Shanghai JIEFANG HIBAO on 10 January 1981 calling private publications "illegal organizations" and "illegal publications." According to a report carried by the Hong Kong WEN HUI BAO on 26 February, Liu Tianfu [0491 3944 1133], vice governor of Guangdong Province, expressed in his work report a determination to ban "illegal organizations" and "illegal publications," in accordance with relevant state regulations.

In March, Fu Shenqi of Shanghai was arraigned before the authorities and told to undergo ideological education.

In April, the CCP Central Committee issued "Document No 9", which reportedly contains the following important points: 1) Severe action to be taken against illegal publications and illegal organizations hostile to the laws and the four principles. 2) Legal experts to be placed in charge of work groups formed by the leadership of provincial party committees. 3) Immediate measures to be taken to stop the "two illegal" activities (illegal organizations and publications) and arrest those guilty of misconduct in words and deeds. 4) A cleanup campaign affecting all units concerned to be mounted in order to expose those elements who have joined illegal organizations or have supported them with supplies of equipment and materials obtained from their respective units, or who read illegal publications. Findings to be reported through channels to the higher authorities. 5) Party and CYL members and cadres associated with illegal organizations to be punished or even expelled from the party.

The "National Private Publications Association" has decided to organize a delegation to see higher authorities in Beijing and negotiate with them concerning the possibility of issuing licences for private publications in various localities have applied to their local people's governments for licences.

According to foreign press reports, Xu Wenli [1776 2429 4539] and Yang Jing [2799 7231], members of SHIM LUNTAN, were arrested by public security personnel at their Beijing homes. Also arrested at his home was Sun Feng [1327 6265], editor of HAILANG HUA [SEA WAVES], a private publication in Qingdao, Shandong Province.

Hong Kong, 10 May (AFP)--Wang Xishe, chief writer of LI YIZHE BIG-CHARACTER POSTER, was arrested in his factory on 10 April. The Chinese Communists have neither confirmed nor denied this report.

Beijing, 12 May (AFP)--Fu Shenqi of Shanghai and Ho Qiu, responsible person of PEOPLE'S ROAD in Guangzhou, were arrested in Beijing. Zhong Yueqiu, responsible person of PEOPLE'S VOICE, of Shaoquan, was arrested in Shaoquan.

On 18 May, representatives of Hong Kong college students who went to Guangzhou to acquaint themselves with the case of Wang Xishe returned to Hong Kong with this statement: According to confirmed information from the Guangzhou Public Security Bureau, Wang Xishe was arrested on 10 April and was being questioned.

9574

CSO: 4003/675

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE DISCUSSES NECESSITY OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Proa, Cons

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIN HSIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 4 Apr 81 pp 57-65

[Article by Hu Ping [5170 1627]: "On Freedom of Speech, Supplement One." For related material see JPRS 78485, 9 July 81, No 203 of this series pp 52-62]

[Text] 20—The Proa and Cons of Freedom of Speech

In the following chapters, we venture to list for comparison the advantages and disadvantages of free speech.

20-1 Freedom of Speech Facilitates Perception of Truth

First of all, freedom of speech helps us perceive and develop truth. The implication is twofold: 1. Where freedom of speech is guaranteed, truth is less likely to be buried in its cradle just because a large number of people refuse to accept it. 2. Where free expression is allowed, people are more ready to put their thinking caps on and quicker to express themselves, thus making it easier to discover new truths.

Before it is recognized as such by the public truth is usually recognized only by a few. The development of truth is nothing like the growth of a bamboo tree, with each new section sprouting from the old. It is quite like the growth of a shrub, where a branch may shoot from the side or a new stem may spring up from the ground. For this reason, anyone knowledgeable of many proven truths has no right to say with authority that all new truths are simple extensions of known truths. Nor can he take upon himself to pass judgment on truths. Therefore, if we are to suppress the opinions which we consider wrong, we may in fact be suppressing newly discovered truths.

Some people say that real gold defies fire and real truth defies suppression. This is not necessarily correct. We must know that truth, like fire, can be snuffed out. The only difference is that truth can be rekindled. There have been tragic precedents in human history in which truth was suppressed to the detriment of progress in human civilization. We should not, whatever the reason, argue that truth shall always triumph over persecution, that any

persecution of "unpopular ideas" is harmless, that persecution is but a screening process, and that censorship of what we sometimes consider to be reactionary views can only serve to weed out poisonous weeds destined for extinction, leaving the truly vibrant truth either unaffected or, better still, shinier than ever. Such an argument is sheer sophistry and a homage to tyranny. It is true that human progress cannot be stopped. Our concern is not only with human progress itself but also with the speed with which it proceeds. We must firmly object to anything that may retard the speed of progress.

Unless there are assurances that no punitive action will be taken even against truly reactionary utterances, it is unlikely that new truths can be brought to light unhindered. If we were to encourage free speech on the one hand, and to impose severe penalties on "malicious libel" on the other hand, we would be like a car driver who steps on the accelerator with one foot and on the brake with the other foot. Lu Wenou of the West Han Dynasty wisely said: "If we take care not to destroy the eggs of any bird, we can expect to see a flock of phoenix some day. If we take care not to kill anyone for libel, we can expect to receive a steady flow of good advice some day." In saying these words, he showed a good command of dialectical logic. Those who insist on putting a limit to free expression, no matter how good their intentions may be and no matter how reasonably the limit is set, will do nothing less than suppress free expression, stifle truth, strangle the spirit of reasonableness, and obstruct progress.

The exercise of both mental and physical faculties is a matter of habit. It requires persistent encouragement and urging. If one runs the risk of being punished for what he says, he will seek refuge in not exercising his mental faculties at all. Any punitive action against free expression is a punitive action against the reasoning and thinking processes. It will stunt the development of human intelligence. The best that such punitive action can do is to create a nation of mostly good citizens with limited intelligence, poor reasoning power, and little creativity. Such good citizens will not achieve modernization in a million years. Sooner or later they will sink into a status unworthy of fellow earthlings. Let us assume that there were two human societies. In one society, the people could not bear to be uncreative and could not bear to be the last to discover new truths. In the other society, the people were completely different. They were afraid to disagree with others and afraid to be criticized and persecuted for their advanced ideas. In the first society, even the most timid person would not hesitate to put forth his new ideas in total honesty. In the second society, even the most courageous person would think twice before he would express his deepest thoughts. Guess in which society a hundred flowers would blossom and in which a hundred flowers would wither? Guess which one would be a lively society and which one would be a lifeless society? Guess in which society the people would grow smarter and smarter and in which one the people would become more and more uncaring? Isn't the answer obvious?

Practical experiences have proved that any nation that penalizes free speech will suffer regression and degeneration to a degree corresponding to the severity of the threatened punishment. Most of the new breakthroughs in human intelligence made in recent years, ranging from new scientific theories to new fashion styles, were made possible in nations in which free expression is allowed. Should not

this fact give us food for thought? In stating this fact we might get criticized for beautifying capitalism. The fact remains that just because we are fully aware of the superiority of socialism over capitalism, we are still all the more sensitive to the unmistakable impact of a political democracy providing for freedom of speech. Presently we have a scale which puts capitalist mode of production plus freedom of speech on one side and socialist mode of production plus freedom of speech on the other side. For the moment, the scale seems to tip in favor of capitalism in terms of economic, scientific and cultural achievements. How can we explain this phenomenon? Those who do not believe in freedom of speech have no choice but to blame the socialist mode of production as being no match for the capitalist mode. They will say that the lack of freedom of speech will not change the outcome. Those who believe in freedom of speech will blame the poor socialist performance on the lack of free expression. In this context, the opponents of freedom of speech are the true worshippers of the capitalist mode of production. In our opinion, the socialist mode of production is a superior system but unfortunately its superiority has failed to materialize simply because for so long we have neglected political democracy and suppressed freedom of speech. That is why we have fallen behind capitalism in our achievements. Thus it is not logical to equate our commitment to free speech with worship of capitalism.

20-2 Freedom of Speech Facilitates Development of Truth

Secondly, freedom of speech helps truth gather strength in its struggle against untruth. It is an accepted fact that even an idea that is basically wrong contains a grain or two of truth. Or at the least a wrong idea can arouse interest for further exploration. It is often hard for us to understand or to predict how one idea can influence another diametrically different idea. "An Essay on the Principle of Population" by Thomas Malthus probably was not a scientifically sound theory, yet it provided an inspiration for Charles Darwin in his formation of the theory of evolution and natural selection. There is a Chinese saying: "If we throw away a piece of brick, we may get a piece of jade in return." Similarly, truth can rise from untruth, just as materialism rose from idealism and revolutionary theories rose from reactionary ideas. Proofs of this fact can be readily found in the history of philosophy and the history of sciences and it is a generally accepted fact. However, certain comrades are applying a strange logic. To them, all the mutual nurturing and mutual enrichment between opposing ideologies took place before the rise of Marxism (Marxism itself is a product of a process of critically distilling capitalist theories of the West). Then, as soon as Marxism was born in 1847, all the bourgeoisie of the world at once turned into fools and were no longer able to produce a single worthwhile idea. The tendency to regard Marxism as a bible that has an answer for every conceivable human problem smacks of religious fanaticism. As a matter of fact, all our revolutionary teachers have advised us to learn from the bourgeoisie and from the capitalists. Obviously not everything they have to offer is worth learning, except that which is of value, including the freedom to study and to review critically what is supposedly wrong. Lack of freedom of speech deprives us of the advantage of learning from mistakes. Over the years we have secluded ourselves from outside influences as if we had the exclusive right to truth. As a result, we did many foolish things and took

many wrong paths which we could have avoided. Isn't this enough to teach us a bitter lesson? The greatest irony is that as a nation following Marxism as the basic principle in our national conduct, we have even fallen behind many other nations in research on Marxism. How can we explain it? 1. The lack of freedom of speech stifles normal expressions of non-Marxist ideas, thus depriving Marxism the opportunity to enrich and invigorate itself and to draw nourishment from the stimulation of different ideologies. 2. The lack of freedom of speech leads to summary dismissal of all new interpretations and all fresh insights of Marxism, not to mention revisionism, the reappraisal of certain Marxist views, burying them under an avalanche of ignorance. This situation gives rise to a confusion about right and wrong and erodes public confidence in free expression, thus denying Marxism the renewal process vital to its viability.

20-3 Freedom of Speech Helps People Develop Into True Marxists

Thirdly, if we expect people to develop into true Marxists, we need to give them the latitude to criticize even the truths which we regard as indisputable.

The nature of human knowledge being what it is, there is no such thing as a self-evident truth. If one is to say that he believes a certain theory is true even before he has a chance to study it closely, he is only deceiving himself. One normally goes through a period of skepticism, comparison and research before one accepts something as true. Comrade Mao Zedong in his early life took a fancy to anarchism. Lu Xun also expressed approval of Friedrich Nietzsche. This fact raised few eyebrows. Today, how can we expect everyone to accept Marxism outright, with no questions asked? How can we determine that those who have doubts, uncertainties, or even objections to Marxism, especially the young people, are not simply going through a necessary passing phase on their way to full acceptance of Marxism? How can we summarily dismiss them as the worst of criminals, the most reactionary people deserving punishment of various kinds including the death penalty? Knowledge cannot be inherited. Beliefs cannot be inherited. Granted that the knowledge acquired through practical experiences accumulated over long years and the beliefs formed from a comparison of positive and negative factors by one generation are perfectly suited to the next generation. But before the next generation accepts this knowledge and beliefs, they are entitled to the same exploratory experience which the preceding generation had. With the guidance of the experiences of the preceding generation, they may need a shorter exploration to reach the same conclusion but they cannot be denied such exploration altogether. To take punitive action against free speech means that one person can force his beliefs on someone else and that one person can force his posterity to accept unquestioningly a presupposed truth. It is in violation of the objective law of knowing and it is likely to provoke a revolt in defense of the dignity of reason. The folk play "Liu Qiao-erh" carried precisely such a message. Liu Qiao-erh revolted against the marriage arranged by her father not because the man her father chose for her, namely Zhu-erh, was not the right man. Toward the end of the play Liu Qiao-erh chose, of her own will, none other than the man her father had originally chosen for her, Zhu-erh, as her lover. Liu Qiao-erh's rebellion was directed against her father's meddling, even though her father had the best of intentions and chose the right man for her. The institution of arranged marriages was at fault. By pledging Qiao-erh to a man

he chose, her father showed disrespect to her free will, not the other way around. In the age when arranged marriages were a custom, only the weak, the meek and the useless people would accept their fate uncomplainingly. What is true with the acceptance of arranged marriages is also true with the acceptance of truth. If we are to force others to accept our versions of truth or to accept unconditionally the beliefs that we hold to be true, we are likely to provoke a revolt in the name of reason, to erode public confidence in truth, and to turn truth against us. The human mind follows a certain objective law in its thinking process. Our disregard of this law, regardless of how sincere our intentions may be, will meet with due punishment.

We must uphold freedom of speech if we expect true Marxists to come to the fore. Unless people hear all sides of an argument, they are unlikely to develop any conviction as to what is true. Unless they are allowed to debate on erroneous ideas and win on the merit of evidence alone, they are unlikely to develop any appreciation of what is right. If we should deny our opponents the right to speak and accuse them of being in the wrong, we could not possibly avoid the trap of dogmatism, simple-mindedness, and rudeness. In so doing we would be doing a disservice to the discovery of truth, defeating the purpose of criticizing erroneous ideas, and, more importantly, thoroughly discouraging the exercise of man's mental faculties and demeaning man's lofty pursuit of truth. Perhaps it is not a disaster to miss out on one truth or two. The truly terrible disaster is the loss of the ability to search for truth. This is not an exaggeration. As a matter of fact, we already have too many people around who need other people to put ideas into their empty heads. They are used to hearing "one voice" and will be completely confused if faced with a choice of different opinions. Unless they hear an authoritative voice declaring this and that as truth, they will not bother to use their heads and find out for themselves. They are not interested in finding out why their superiors want them to accept a certain view or to use a certain approach or whether that particular view or approach is right or wrong. They are happy as long as there is one answer and they are disconcerted by any dispute between opposing viewpoints. As soon as a dispute arises, they will exclaim in consternation: "We are getting confused," as if getting them confused constitutes a crime of the worst kind. Last year the HISTORICAL RESEARCH JOURNAL published in the same issue two academic papers with opposing viewpoints. Some readers were ill at ease and demanded, in their protest letters to the editor, a ruling on which viewpoint is right.

The famous English poet John Milton put it well when he said: "In the Bible, truth is likened to a bubbling spring. If its water were stopped in its constant flow, it would degenerate into a tame and stagnant swamp. A man can still be a heretic even on the side of truth as long as his beliefs are based on what his preacher has said or what the parliament has decided but nothing else. Then even if his beliefs happen to be true, the truth itself in which he believes will be nothing but heresy." [retranslated from the Chinese version—the translator] The Chinese poet Zhu Xi also wrote: "If you ask a brook why its water is so clear, you will receive the answer that it is because there is fresh water coming from upstream." The tree of truth must have its roots deep in the soil of reality to maintain its vitality. The human society is an ever growing organism. We cannot put a straight jacket on it to stunt its natural growth. An unbridled mind and free speech are the minimum requirements to guarantee the free flow of

truth that correctly reflects the objective laws of social development. Some people may say that it is not necessary for the masses to understand truth. All they need is faith. To keep their faith pure, we simply tell them certain principles are indisputable truth. To keep their faith strong, we simply keep them away from objectionable views. This kind of attitude is wrong on three counts: 1. It serves to encourage the intellectually backward masses in not trying to understand truth and to discourage and penalize the intellectually advanced masses in trying to explore truth. It will not result in moving the backward masses forward into the advanced ranks but rather moving the advanced masses backward into the backward ranks. It does not encourage people to achieve intellectual maturity step by step. Rather it blocks all avenues by which people can reach intellectual maturity. 2. It implies that there are two groups of people, with one group dispensing the truth and with the other group merely swallowing it with open mouths. It creates the dubious impression that the majority of the people lack the ability to learn and they must place their blind trust in a small group of people who are supposedly infallible. It implies that one group are always the infants. 3. It presupposes that access to opposite viewpoints will only shake one's faith in the correct doctrines and that reactionary ideas are more powerful than correct thoughts. It also presupposes that if one is to keep one's faith pure, one needs to be ignorant; to keep one's faith whole, one needs to be foolish; and to keep one's faith firm, one needs to be mentally retarded. This logic is totally foreign to Marxist logic. It is meant to fool the people.

Why did the young people at the Ningxia University of Self-Education in Communism meet their cruel fate? It was precisely because their endeavor to research the theory of communism was regarded by the "cardinal" at the university as a crime of the worst kind. Isn't communism truth enough? One needs only to believe in it. Why bother to research it? Anyone who wishes to research it must have an ax to grind! This is the logic of certain people.

It is true that there are people in this world who are too lazy to do any thinking on their own and are glad to leave to others the choice of what they should believe. These people are stereotypes like Xie Huimin [6200 1920 2404]. If they were born in China, they would embrace Mao Zedong Thought. If they were born in Russia, they would uphold Brezhnev doctrine. If they were born in India, they would be Buddhists. If they were born in Libya, they would be Muslims. Even if they are not totally useless, they are certainly not the best of the human race. Even if they have not knowingly done anything bad, at least they do not have the self-motivation to do good. Even if they are above reproach, at least they do not deserve commendation. If you make comfortable beds for them according to their size, they will give no further thought to reason or truth. What will happen is this: Those who have empty heads will have their heads securely resting on their shoulders while those who have good heads stand the risk of losing theirs. Ruthless purification campaigns will go on forever, and at the expense of progress in civilization. Truth is invincible. Its hallmark is its ability to triumph in its struggle against untruth to win public acceptance. The proponents of free speech are optimists who have infinite trust in the power of truth. It is a trust shared by democrats at home and abroad, living or dead. Mo Zi once said: "When light comes, shadow disappears." Thomas Jefferson said:

"Truth is great. If left unhampered, it will spread.... When truth is left free to oppose untruth, untruth will no longer pose any threat." [retranslated from Chinese version--translator] would cast a strong spell on the public and would present obstacles "which would be difficult, if not impossible" for good publications to overcome. This argument drew a sarcastic comment from Marx: "It creates the impression that good publications are powerless and bad publications are all powerful. If good publications are one and the same as powerless publications, does it mean that what is good is powerless and what is powerless is good? This brings to mind the well-known maxim of Marx: 'Any well-documented theory is convincing.'"

Our conclusion is clear: True Marxists will not come to the fore unless we allow free expression and criticism of Marxist truth.

20-4 Freedom of Speech Strengthens National Unity

Fourthly, freedom of speech will strengthen national unity. Lack of it will weaken national unity.

Marx pointed out a long time ago: "Any law that concerns itself with trends negates the concept that all are equal before the law. It is not a law to unite people. It is a law that weakens unity." At first glance, these words seem to clash with the views of certain comrades. Isn't punitive action against heresy and unorthodoxy meant to strengthen unity? Quite a few comrades have always held the opinion that national unity depends upon uniformity in beliefs. Such an opinion is incorrect. First of all, it is not realistic. Marxists were, and still are, a minority in the Chinese population. While now the socialist outlook is accepted by the majority, there are still exceptions. If we are to differentiate citizens and enemies on the basis of their political beliefs, we will be reducing our base of popular support. It would be like drying up a whole pond to catch fish. If we were to consider the nonbelievers as the arch criminals, we would have to accept purification campaigns as necessary. When people were fighting their factional wars during the Cultural Revolution, they were dominated by the erroneous notion that there is no way that people holding different opinions could live together in peace. History has provided ample evidence that lack of legal guarantees for peaceful coexistence of political foes will create a national rift and lead to civil war. In this context, the factional wars during the Cultural Revolution bore a resemblance to the religious wars during the medieval times in the sense that the very effort to achieve stability precipitated turmoil and civil war and the very effort to achieve unity created disunity and dispute. In the end, the religious wars failed to make people more devout. On the contrary, they made people skeptical, tired and disinterested in any religious creed. This outcome was obviously unforeseen by those who had started the religious wars in the first place.

Unity, by its very definition, means unity of people with different views. Uniformity, in its broadest sense, does not imply enforced unanimity of beliefs. It merely requires obedience to the same law of nature. We must realize that a law-abiding dissenter can also have some positive effects on our society. Even if he exerts some negative influence, it will do more harm than good to try to

stamp out that influence by force. Francis Bacon said well: "Sometimes the cure proves worse than the disease." A host of facts have proved that that suppression of free speech does nothing to change the opinions of the dissenters and is no help in our effort to win over the middle-of-the-roaders. If it does anything at all, it creates dispute within our own camp, thus leading to rift and suspicion, certainly not unity or uniformity, among our own ranks. Worst still, the suppressors of free speech, in order to silence the dissenters within our own camp, constantly have to reach farther and farther in their suppression, thus leading to an escalation of abuses and initiating a never-ending vicious circle. What started as a limited suppression of disagreeable beliefs tends to develop into an extensive suppression of different ways of doing things. It can cause far more disunity and damage than the criticism of a few political dissenters. Human society has always been complex, more so today than ever. Any step to stamp out with force what we find disagreeable is also a step deeper into the quagmire. Therefore it is clear that the freedom of speech actually strengthens national unity and that the lack of it weakens unity and uniformity of beliefs. Dialectics do not lie.

20-5 Freedom of Speech Contributes to the Consolidation of Political Power

Fifthly, freedom of speech also helps us consolidate our political power.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: We are not afraid of overt reactionaries. We fear only covert reactionaries. He did not mean that we enjoy having reactionaries around us. The fact remains that there are always political parties beside our own and there are always factions within our own party. By the same token, there are always reactionaries around. Their existence is an undeniable fact. Thus it is far better to bring them out into the open than push them underground.

There are two advantages in bringing them into the open. 1. We can criticize them in a direct way. 2. We can learn from their criticism how to minimize our mistakes. All this will help us consolidate our political power.

The first advantage is quite obvious. We touched upon it earlier in this article and we need not dwell upon it any longer. Our main concern here is the second advantage. What will the dissenters do to oppose us? Apart from presenting a political platform different from ours, they will certainly pick on our shortcomings and mistakes and make a big fuss over them in order to win people over to their side. They will certainly try to maximize whatever dissatisfaction they discover among certain people against some of our policies. Such action is actually to our advantage. The enemy always tries to attack us where we are soft, thus alerting us to our soft spots and alerting us to take corrective action. A smart man usually learns more from his foe than his friend. If we are to take punitive action against dissenters even when they harbor nothing but ulterior motives, we will create unnecessary suspicion and fear in certain quarters of the public and lose the benefit of teaching by negative examples. In this way we will be more prone to make mistakes.

History has provided evidence, without exception, that any suppression of hostile criticism will inevitably lead to blunders. Lenin, a great man, adhered to the

correct course of tolerating dissenters and pursuing a brilliant program at the same time. Most of the proletarian leaders who succeeded Lenin deviated from this Leninist principle to varying degrees and therefore made mistakes of varying seriousness. This fact should give us food for thought.

Any administration that is committed to reform must make it a point to permit free expression to the fullest extent. Regretfully, this is something most administrations forget to do. An administration needs a latitude of authority to be able to carry out necessary reforms, but it often finds any form of criticism and opposition as the gravest threat to its authority and takes repressive steps against it, not knowing that such action is extremely harmful. The downfall of Iran's Shah Pahlevi is the most recent case in point. Pahlevi antagonized both the conservative forces by pushing an economic modernization program and the intellectuals and youths as well, who were exposed to new ideas, by imposing a traditional, undemocratic rule. His mistrust of freedom of speech gave him at the following disadvantages: 1. He had no way of knowing whether the policies had had formulated were feasible and what his safety margin was in implementing those policies; 2. He failed to arouse the enthusiasm of people who agreed with him in his reforms; 3. His lack of access to the grassroots reaction made it impossible for him effectively to stop corruption and negligence at the various levels of bureaucracy. In the end, he found himself between the devil and the deep blue sea and was doomed to total failure.

There was an ancient saying: "It is more dangerous to try to seal the mouth of people than to seal the mouth of a river. When a river is denied an outlet for its water flow, it will overflow its banks and cause many casualties. People are like rivers. That is why it is necessary to let rivers flow freely and let people speak freely." Indeed, freedom of speech provides a vent for pent-up emotions and a relief for the buildup of tension. People, especially the Chinese people, are not born troublemakers. They turn into troublemakers only if their grievances go unheeded and their demands unmet and only when they are denied an opportunity to air their views and to protect their fundamental rights by normal means. Permission of the people to air their views freely is a good indicator that the government is willing to face problems squarely and is prepared to resolve problems through due course. This will help the government to relieve entirely, or at least to a large extent, the dissatisfaction felt by the people against the government, to win their confidence, thereby deflating any tension before it forms and preventing a buildup of unrest. A nation needs a sensible and reasonable population to achieve political stability and progress. In order for its population to develop good sense and reasonableness, a nation needs a political climate in which people can reason things out. We must not have the notion that freedom of speech threatens law and order. On the contrary, respect for freedom of speech breeds respect for law and order. As a matter of fact, law and order is a prerequisite to freedom of speech. Then, if freedom of speech constitutes no threat to law and order, how can we curtail or suppress freedom of speech in the name of law and order? It is true that freedom of speech may encourage some people who are dissatisfied with current social conditions to make stronger demands for reforms (some demands may be revolutionary and appropriate and others may be reactionary and ill-founded), but, where conditions of democracy such as freedom of speech prevail, we can expect the majority of the

dissatisfied people gladly to press for reforms within the limits of law and order. Even when their demands are rejected by society, they will continue to exercise their freedom of speech to argue their points, attributing the rejection of their demands to a lack of understanding by society, rather than to seek to overthrow law and order by force. Otherwise, suppression of freedom of speech will convince the dissatisfied elements of society that unless they destroy the present social order their demands will never be met. Such suppression will indeed sow the seeds of unrest and lead to a truly dangerous situation.

It must be conceded, of course, that punishment of free speech can serve a positive purpose if the consolidation of political power is an end in itself. The principle of "divide and rule" is as much an effective political strategy as it is a military strategy. Obviously if a political power is to choose between two evils, it will choose overt reactionaries instead of covert reactionaries. A still better choice, if possible, is to prevent reactionaries of any kind from emerging as a political force. There is no denying that before the people sharing the same political philosophy can form a political force, they must communicate with each other--basically by the spoken or written word. There is no denying that freedom of speech, while it does not necessarily stimulate growth in the number of dissenters, will enable the dissenters to develop spiritual rapport through communications and band together into a political force. Dissenters, by communicating with other kindred souls, may feel they are not alone in their beliefs and develop a sense of confidence and strength. On the other hand, the denial of an open forum to dissenters and the forced acceptance of the official line, while it may not win new converts to the philosophy of those in power nor cause the dissenters to desert their ranks, can indeed isolate the dissenters, sow the seeds of distrust in their ranks, and reduce them to ideological helplessness. It will create suspicion, a sense of isolation, uncertainty, and fear among the population at large. It will set the stage for a total capitulation of the people to the power holders and a dissolution of all opposition forces.

We cannot deny that suppression of freedom of speech as described above is an effective political tool. All the unpopular administrations in history owed its brief existence and exaggerated power to the use of such a political tool. The Chinese all had an intimate knowledge of the horror of such a political tool when they were suffering through the decade of tyranny of the "gang of four." As we look back, can we deny that punitive action against free expression was once accepted and supported by a large number of people? Can we deny that such punitive action was motivated by the very desire to consolidate further the dictatorship of the proletariat? There is a sound moral in this. For one thing, it teaches us that we cannot go overboard in trying to consolidate our political power. Even the most popular government cannot afford to do that. This is because when the consolidation process is carried to extremes, a political power will inevitably turn into an absolute power and any absolute power has a way of corrupting and degenerating and turning into a bloody tyranny in dire conflict with the interests of the common people.

Let us dwell upon this moral a little longer. We must realize that the consolidation of political power is not an end in itself, just as revolution is

not an end in itself. If we are to consolidate political power at the expense of the freedom and well-being of the people, how can we justify our action? Suppression of free expression, as mentioned earlier, at the least, will retard political progress. Therefore, we have no right to punish free speech in the name of consolidating political power.

The only justification for the existence of a government lies in its conformity to the aspirations of the people. The least a government must do is to leave the governed free to express their true feelings toward their government. In other words, a government can under no circumstances forbid free expressions of opposition. A government which has a right to suppress opposition can count on the permanent support of the "people" if it regards all dissenters as "nonpeople." Imagine: If a government pledges its allegiance to its people and yet it also has the right to call its supporters the "people" and its detractors "nonpeople," isn't it a logic of sheer self-contradiction? If this logic were allowed to stand, there would be no government in the world not enjoying the wholehearted support of its people!

It is clear that unless a political power permits free expression and wins popular support on its own merit, it cannot justify its consolidation. It means that we can under no circumstances seek to consolidate our political power at the expense of freedom of speech. If we do, we will be defeating the purpose of such consolidation.

The foregoing analysis makes it easy for us to understand why sometimes a political power that emerged in revolution to protect people's rights could turn into a convenient tool of some dictators. Such a development led to some of the most tragic incidents in recent history. We are not prepared to go into this issue in great depth. We wish only to concentrate on the basic reason behind all such tragic incidents. It is like this: People carried the consolidation of political power to extremes and even forgot to reserve for themselves the right to criticize it later. Though this political power had been responsive to the people and had enjoyed popular support, by this time it began to assume an all-powerful form. As they continued to consider this political power the guardian of their interests, they logically concluded that any opposition to this political power was an opposition to the people themselves. That was where a fatal mistake came. They failed to draw a line between speech and action. They felt that if they should wait for the enemy to start destructive counterrevolutionary activities, they would do better to wipe him out as soon as he started to make reactionary speeches. This way they were conferring a godly or semigodly status to this political power. At the same time, they also felt there was a difference between the will of individuals and the collective will of the people. They argued that since the will of individuals should be held subservient to the collective, individuals then had no right to oppose this political power representing the collective will. Here again they made a repeated mistake by failing to draw a line between speech and action, assuming that if the individuals were obligated to obey the majority rule, they should relinquish their right to explain or make a stand on their viewpoints. The upshot of the application of this kind of logic would be like this: A political power would become the sole proprietor of the collective will and the total human value of the people while the individuals who were the people would become nonentities.

By the same token, the collective will become an entity unto itself while the individual will was nonexistent. In other words, the political power became the people and the people were not necessarily people any more if they should disagree with the political power. Where "people's rights were inviolable," the people could be charged with the crime of opposing the people and be convicted as well.

If this logic were allowed to stand, any administration that had formed to protect the people's interests would eventually end up doing the opposite if it sought to consolidate its power endlessly even to the extent of forbidding expression of dissension. Unchecked, unlimited power would be bound to corrupt all power holders and make them mistake-prone, with one mistake made leading to another more serious one. In the meantime, such unlimited power would be a great temptation for careerists. It would whet their ambitions and induce them to take chances.

Also, if this logic were allowed to stand, people would be given only one choice--to support this regime, never to oppose it. Indeed, the people had wholeheartedly supported it in the beginning. In fact, it was due to such support that this regime achieved its initial limited authority. However, as each individual began to look upon it as a personification of the people and to look upon the will of the power holders as the beatification of the collective will of the people, he felt that he should not voice opinions which differed from the "People's." As a result, he would still show support even though he might feel differently, not knowing that by doing so he was not fulfilling his obligations as a citizen. Quite a few comrades are like that. In public they always agree with the leaders while in private, or deep in their hearts, they feel a strong disagreement. One may wonder why these comrades do not feel uncomfortable with their split personality. The reason is that they believe their private thoughts represent only their immature, personal views and habitually accept the leaders' views as the "consensus" of the majority. Therefore, they believe that voicing support for the leaders on formal occasions is the "right thing" to do and they are not prepared to bare their souls unless in private. They even believe that giving up their private thoughts is like giving up money--an act to be proud of, not to be ashamed of, an act of self-sacrifice for the good of the nation. They are unaware that without each individual frankly putting forward his views, a consensus is impossible. It is like without the parts, there is no sum. When a citizen does not fulfill his obligation of making public his political views, he is not fulfilling his basic obligation as a citizen or exercising his basic right as a citizen. If we were to refrain from presenting our view point and even unhesitatingly to show our support for the oppression of dissension by a political power (they are related actions. Anyone who does not believe in airing his own views will inevitably support the oppression of dissenters), we would see an alienation of the political power from the people on the one hand and a deepening of the self-inflicted terror for ourselves. If we should let this situation take its own course, the political power would become a dissimilating force, the careerists would try to seize power at every opportunity, and a political power that had begun as a protector of people's interests would turn into a tool of dictators.

We must point out here that oppression of dissension is unnecessary. Normally, such oppression does not take place when a revolutionary political power is in

jeopardy). On the contrary, a political power is capable of carrying out large-scale purges without fear of unrest and failure only when it is firmly established. Some people said that if Stalin had not carried out a series of "purges" in the 1930's, the Soviet regime would have collapsed. These people forgot that in Lenin's days the Soviet regime faced far greater external and internal threats in 1917-24 than in the 1930's, yet Lenin never resorted to "purges" and the Soviet regime survived just as well. How can these people justify their theory that "purges are necessary"?

History has offered ample proof that when a revolutionary power is seriously threatened, its normal course of action is to try to achieve a united front with people of different political persuasions and ideologies rather than to take punitive action against free expression. It is only when a political power is firmly entrenched and when certain factions and certain individuals within that power see a need to strengthen their own hands that they will consider dissension a serious threat to their own positions. By taking punitive action against free expression and by imprisoning dissenters, they seek to create a false atmosphere of tension to convince the innocent people that purges are necessary. They will also create the impression that they are forced to ruthlessly suppress dissension of all kinds, including differences of opinion on the means to achieve the same end, otherwise what they have done will be undone, and the nation as a whole will go under. The trouble is that the "necessity" for suppressing dissension is more contrived than real.

If a political power has the need to broaden the united front when it is seriously threatened, why does it seek to reduce the united front when it is well entrenched? Indeed, political power and the people are not one and the same. Within certain limits, the consolidation of political power can serve the purpose of protecting the people's rights. If, however, it goes beyond the limits of unlimited consolidation of political power, the political power may become separated from supervision from below, and consequently may turn to injure the people. It must be admitted that defining the limits is not an easy matter, and this limit obviously is also not immutable. However, the freedom of speech we propose doubtlessly requires resolute affirmation and can, in no case, be negated along with the right of free criticism, because it is the first right of the people, and it is a right that must most fundamentally be guaranteed. If political authority prohibits criticism and opposes expression of views, it has no reason whatsoever to speak in its own defense.

An old adage says that only the wearer of the shoes knows best where they pinch his feet. The best judge of whether a regime represents the people's interest is the people themselves. This is not to say that the people cannot oppose the regime, but that the regime cannot oppose the people. The so-called "people" are not included among this group of individuals. The will of the people is nothing more than a kind of concerted action. The people's views are frequently splintered, and perhaps the views of some people may better express the interests of the entire body of the people, while another person's views may even completely violate the interests of the whole. Nevertheless, these latter kinds of views are still those of the people, because they are essentially the views of part of the people even if only of a single individual. To say that such views do not

represent the views of the people is to say that they do not represent the views of most of the people, but it is not possible on this account not to acknowledge the simple fact that these views also come from the people!

It must be pointed out that the right to individual expression of one's own independent views still cannot be transferred. A person has the right to criticize a regime that is endorsed by others, and the regime has no right on this account to condemn him. In fact, only by assuring that when any citizen's views are in the absolute minority, he will not be condemned, can people truly speak out freely. Only when everybody can express their attitude toward the regime without misgivings can we truly see whether this regime is supported by the majority of the people. To clarify this point, we can say without the slightest bit of exaggeration that whether a regime institutes freedom of speech, is a measure of whether it carries out the minimum standards of democracy, and is also the minimum criterion of whether this regime has self-confidence. Inasmuch as everyone knows that wherever there are many people, there will be left, middle, and right, a regime no matter how wise and true cannot gain the unanimous approval of all the people on all issues. Therefore, the existence of criticism of opposing views is a most natural situation. Lack of overt criticism or opposing views is a most unnatural situation. A regime that sustains attacks from all sides may not necessarily be a good regime, but when not the slightest opposing view is heard, that regime, it is feared, is worse.

Authority and autonomy are relative. Any place requiring authority must require a limitation on this authority. Any place requiring centralized and coercive authority also must require a corresponding restraint and balance. Speech is the most elementary way of expressing individual views. A regime that rejects the freedom of speech is a thoroughly absolute authority, and an out-and-out unlimited authority. The people have no power either to correct the early and not too serious errors of such an authority (unless this unlimited authority desires to correct them itself), and they have even less power to correct their spread (if they continue to spread). Such an unlimited authority eliminates all possibility of using the ordinary recourse afforded by the power of the people to regulate itself, and people can virtually only sit and watch as it leads the country in any given direction. History provides numerous tragic examples which demonstrate that when supporting a regime that permits no opposition, one should not forget to retain one's own right to free criticism. Unhappily, successors frequently slight the experience of predecessors, and successors frequently have a certain blindness, and an exaggeratedly self-confident psychology, supposing themselves to have none of the limitations of their predecessors. They frequently suppose that they have discovered a new continent, with the result that they always fall into the old traps. Lenin warned us long ago: "The proletariat does not turn into sages because it has seized power." Marx and Engels pointed out long ago that the regime in every country has a tendency to free itself from the supervision and control of the people and to change from being a servant of the people to being a master of the people. Unfortunately, all this has been entirely forgotten by our comrades. They always say, "We are the proletariat; we are a socialist country," as though the proletariat are sages who can make no mistakes, and as though a socialist country is something other than a country. Thus, the lessons of history frequently do not apply to us, and the principles

of any "restraints on authority" or "free speech" are without any significance for us. Those cut off from history frequently suppose themselves to be above history when they are, in fact, below history. Whoever forgets the lessons of history, history will teach. On this point, who can say that history is unfair?

20-6 Institution of Freedom of Speech Is a Summation of All-Around Balance

From a summarization of the aforesaid five aspects, we can see clearly the various benefits from institution of free speech. Another one that should be mentioned is that the principle of free speech is a prescription against the negative aspects of situations; it is nothing more than an affirmation that all views may be expressed. The same applies to the speaker not being condemned; it stipulates that the speaker not be punished, and nothing more. To permit expression of a view in no way signifies that criticism of this view will not be permitted or that those who hold reactionary concepts will not be punished. Nor does it signify that moral force or the force of public opinion cannot be used to counterattack and even less does it say that when reactionary ideas are transformed into conduct in violation of the law that we will not stop it. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: The gentleman strikes with his mouth rather than with his hands, but when a small person attacks with his hands, the father also uses his hands. Thus, with any bad action created as a result of the expression of reactionary speech, we should and we are entirely capable of effectively eliminating it using numerous other methods. From this we have deduced the sixth aspect that no policy is completely perfect; every principle carries with it some disadvantage. But which of the maladies that a principle brings are more readily curable or more readily compensated for in some other way? Very obviously, institution of free speech has greater advantages than disadvantages. In fact, its only disadvantage is that it may lead to the open appearance of a reactionary trend of thought. However, we can use other methods outside the penal code effectively to eliminate this disadvantage, and to turn disadvantage into advantage, so institution of freedom of speech is extraordinarily desirable. Conversely, institution of punishments for utterances, under the best of circumstances, has only the total advantage of controlling the emergence of certain poisonous weeds while at the same time inevitably damaging fragrant flowers. This can bring about a decline in reasoning powers, and even when leaders are incomparably brilliant, the double-edged sharp sword of punishment for speaking out can certainly harm oneself more. Moreover, it always conceals the danger of being turned on oneself, and there always exists the possibility that ambitious people can use it to suppress the people. These are its most obvious disadvantages, which far and away surpass any advantages it might bring. Worst of all is that once these evils appear, people will have virtually no other recourse. Not to have freedom of speech is to cut off the path of using proper progress to resort to reckless moves; violence becomes the only means of resolving contradictions. It may be seen just how harmful not having freedom of speech can be.

Perhaps this sixth comparison is most persuasive. We are not going to say extravagantly that freedom of speech is without disadvantages, nor are we going rashly to claim that punishment for speaking out is devoid of any merit. Things are not that polarized. Those who do not agree with our viewpoint may point

out some disadvantages of free speech, and they may also show some merits in punishing speaking out, but that by no means is sufficient to shake our fundamental point of view. In addition, they would have to be able to achieve the following two points: 1. An all around weighing of the pros and cons, the advantages and disadvantages of the two; and 2. Find an effective alternative method that also corrects abuses that may develop. We are waiting for our opponents in the debate to come up with more reasons, but we fear they will be unable to do so.

21--Serious Consequences of Punishing Speaking Out

Finally we want to emphasize further what is perhaps the most serious consequence of punishing speaking out--the powerful effect on the psychology of the people and on the temperament of the people. Marx made a vigorous criticism of the Prussian Government's press censorship system. He said, "It is only publications that have been censored that corrupt morality. The greatest crime--hypocrisy--is inseparable from it. From this fundamentally bad point is derived the most ugly bad point (and from an esthetic point of view it is also this way)--apathy. The government listens only to its own words, and it also knows that it listens on only to its own words, but it deceives itself nevertheless, as though what it was listening to were the words of the people, and it requires the people to support this self-deception. As for the people themselves, they have either sometimes fallen into blind faith politically, or else they believe in nothing and are completely divorced from the life of the country and have become a mass of people caring only about their own personal lives." Compared with the realities of the past several years, unfortunately, these words seem to have very much been a prediction of our own situation!

China under the control of the extreme leftist ideological trend, for many years had no freedom of speech. Telling lies was like a great pestilence, which afflicted pure and upright minds of millions upon millions of people so that in all overt circumstances, we would never hear any heartfelt words. Telling lies did not make people feel uneasy nor did it evoke reproach from others. People no longer felt that to tell lies was shameful, nor did they feel any longer that it was strange to tell lies. Workers no longer had a sense of pride because they too did not dare to say what they thought. Farmers were no longer sincere and honest, simple and kind, because they had become accustomed to the technique of telling lies. Heroic persons of ideas and integrity who were outspoken by nature were sapped of their courage and uprightness, and from the time they first began to show intelligent awareness, children understood how to say one thing to a person's face and another thing behind his back. Not only did telling lies become a common practice, it simply became a habit or even second nature for some. People could not help wondering whether words were for the purpose of expressing ideas or whether they were for the purpose of concealing one's private thoughts. Were they for the purpose of exchanging feelings, or were they for the purpose of deceiving the other party? Were they for the purpose of expanding the spirit or were they for the purpose of distorting one's soul? Words are the most fundamental form of self-affirmation of the human spirit. If a person is unable to express his views openly his whole life long, he has not been able to be a person his whole life long. If a people is unable for a long period of

time to express its own true voice, what a galling shame and humiliation this is! Such a shameful experience can leave such deep scars on the psychology of a people! Were Mr Lu Xun to be alive today, he would certainly add telling lies to the deep-rooted bad habits of Ah Q. This alone is enough to make a remarkable "means of spiritual triumph" lose its "glory." Lack of free speech is like the air since only when it is missing will people feel the value of its existence. The damage caused by lack of free speech is also like being choked, and there are no offensive wounds to be seen. The suffering the Chinese have sustained from lack of free speech, the greatness of losses, and the depth of complications are such as are rarely seen in the world. Now we must expend extremely great energy if we are to entirely rid ourselves of this spiritual yoke. Freedom of speech is a fundamental task that we must work to realize. Only by full institution of freedom of speech can the open and honest psychology of our people be reestablished. Without a healthy spiritual condition, the four modernizations cannot be realized.

As for apathy, people have even deeper feelings. To repress speech is to repress the spirit, and a direct consequence of repression of the spirit is apathy. We are not talking here of people who are totally demoralized. We want to ask how much initiative has been shown by those who have a deep sense of pain about apathy? Tolstoy said, "indolence in itself possesses a certain mysterious fascination, so though we at first abhor stagnation, in time we become reluctant to part with it." Such an indolent, passive atmosphere is like a large piece of cooling equipment, which wordlessly but powerfully chills people's enthusiasm and has the ability to spread like a contagious disease. There is no sense in being reticent about saying that the low efficiency of the Chinese people today is truly appalling. Unless this spirit is changed, how will it be possible to catch up with advanced countries? It must be realized that this apathy results, first of all, from repression of the spirit, and that the only hope of curing it lies in further emancipation of the mind and true institution of freedom of speech. However, some of our comrades seem not to see things this way. On the one hand they require that the people not express any views on major national matters, but rather that they act like chessmen and quietly submit themselves to arrangements made above. No matter how many real problems, they must bear them in silence, and they take great exception to people, and young people in particular, yearning for spiritual emancipation. On the other hand they require that in absorbing themselves in their work people will show initiative and enthusiasm. Obviously this is like wanting a horse to run but not wanting to feed it. People are an organic whole. Only when they are free to speak their minds can they feel happy. How can a spiritually oppressed person show high spirits and great energy in production or in research in technology? It must be realized that spiritual freedom can produce not only truth but also enthusiasm. Only in a place that is relatively free spiritually can people demonstrate a fairly high output of truth and can they generate enthusiasm. Only in a place that is relatively free spiritually can people demonstrate rather high enthusiasm and rather high efficiency. Without great enthusiasm, one cannot complete any great achievements.

Failure to institute freedom of speech and promotion of a "good" policy of keeping the people ignorant, can win the blind faith of the people for a time,

but must lead inevitably to utter lack of faith. The blind faith of 10 years ago, and the "disillusionment" of today; and the general feeling of willingness to sacrifice among the people, during the early period and today's harsh tendency toward concern only with one's private life, form such sharp contrasts! Some people attribute this to "people not being the same anymore," supposing that success can be achieved through a reintensification of the control over speech and the punishment of thought of past years, failing to realize that the various current manifestations happen to be the natural outcome of those very methods in the past. Practice has shown just how lacking in daring and farsightedness a policy of control over speech can be. These policies have already actually failed and suffered the penalties they deserved. History demands that we adopt a bold, unrestricted policy. Dissociation from the mainstream of advanced world civilization provides no way out.

22--Punishment for Speaking Out and Progress

During the time when Britain was at the peak of power and "the sun never set on the empire," the British said they would rather lose an India than lose a Shakespeare. We have no intention of making an all around evaluation of this statement; we are only prepared to state the following: Only when a people or a nation is able to produce numerous geniuses to add to the splendor of the human race can it be said to be glorious or great. Application of Darwin's survival of the fittest to the social realm is of course wrong, but this does not mean that fierce competition does not exist in human society. Those who lag behind must suffer defeat, and those who lag behind will be eliminated. This is an objective law. Under the despotism of mental dictatorship, the Chinese people's greatest loss was the adversity that was visited on the people who were the cream of the culture! In all the history of mankind, what people have pursued with such a mad zeal as we have the throttling of our own outstanding sons and daughters, and the killing of the fresh flowers from our own soil? Here too there was survival of the fittest, only it was going in the opposite direction, the direction of regression. In addition, all these crimes were committed falsely in the name of the people and in the name of the revolution so they were exceptionally thorough and exceptionally heartless. In looking back at the entire process of this tragedy, we deeply feel that early acceptance by the majority of people of the erroneous principle of punishment for speaking out was a major error and brought about this chain reaction.

23--How Is Freedom of Speech Destroyed

The destruction of anything always begins around the edges. This is a law.

History has shown over and over again that suppression of speech was always directed against what most of the people at the time truly believed to be reactionary speech. Thus not only did most people not realize the illegality of this deprivation, but actively supported it, and actively participated in and brought about this deprivation. Without willing action on the part of the majority of people, such deprivation could not have been carried out in the beginning. However, as soon as people participate in this illegal deprivation, this means that the principle of free speech has been breached. Henceforth, such

deprivation increases day by day. When people impose illegal punishments upon others, they place themselves in the tragic situation of losing their legal protection. The more they join in suppression of the rights of others to free speech, the more they lose their own right to speak freely, the more they lose their right of free speech, and the more they are forced to join in the persecution of others who exercise this right. The consequence of this vicious circle must inevitably be like that of a screw being tightened ever tighter, and of a morass becoming deeper the farther it is entered. In the end, a few tricksters who have usurped great power will be allowed to act as unscrupulously as they will. The meetings everywhere throughout the country following Qingming [5 April] 1976 to "angrily condemn the counterrevolutionary incident at Tiananmen," was just such an indicator of the rapid sliding down a slope toward the bottom. Such self-deceptive assemblies of millions of people are possibly unique in all history! Is it possible the painful lessons of damage to the flower of our people and damage to the vitality of our nation have not been enough to make us realize the vicious quality of punishment for speaking out and to make up our minds to institute full freedom of speech?

It is like the mad man in Lu Xun's "Diary of a Mad Man," who when he senses he is about to be eaten by someone, wakes up to the reality that he has also eaten people in the past. Of the people who suffered persecution during these years because they had ideas and a mouth, are there any who did not at some time in the past, persecute others who dared to speak their true beliefs? Luckily the arrogance and domineering ways of the "gang of four" accelerated the process of logically playing out the bloody principle of "punishment for speaking out," rapidly exposing its total essence. Had it not, it is to be feared that some of our comrades would today still regard punishment for speaking out as a magic weapon for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Lu Xun said: "If you will not change, it will be you yourself who will suffer." This is an admonition to us provided by history!

(This concludes chapter one. To be continued.)

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Best Means of Promotion

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[Article by Hu Ping [5170 1627]: "On Freedom of Speech"]

[Excerpts] X. History of "Lawlessness" in Newly Emerging Nations

Almost every newly emerging nation has called itself a democracy or republic complete with a perfect constitution. Most of these newly emerging nations may fail the test for being a qualified democratic republic as a result of an investigation into their record on the implementation of their constitution. This is in striking contrast to countries with longer democratic traditions where no one, including presidents and premiers, dares openly violate the laws. Why are the provisions of law nothing more than a scrap of paper in one country but are respected as divine canons in another? There should be some reasons that deserve our thorough study.

One of the reasons is that most of these newly emerging nations have had no experience in developing democracy.

Most of the newly emerging nations do not have any experience in developing the principle of freedom of speech. Because they simply copied the principle of freedom of speech from the book, the people there mostly do not understand its true meaning and great value. This being the case, can anyone guarantee that the principle of freedom of speech will not be overlooked, distorted, and trampled under foot? When Wu Han, author of the work "Hui Rui Dismissed From Office," was cruelly persecuted, how many people throughout China sensed this as an abridgment of the freedom of speech, a violation of the constitution, and an infringement of the right of citizens, and resolutely lodged protests against this mistake committed by a leader of a democratic republic? The majority of people did not do so. Many people never regarded this example of blatant application of power to suppress speech as being a violation of the right of citizens to free speech as provided in the constitution. Many people have insisted that this suppression of reactionary speech should not be construed as an abridgment of the freedom of speech but as the best way to protect and use the people's true freedom of speech. Although some kindhearted people hated such cruelties, they always spared no effort to dissuade themselves from "being too naive" and reminded themselves that, in the face of cruel class struggle, how could people still think of such civil, polite terms or of such empty, silly talk as freedom of speech? Since the majority of the people took this stand, how could we have any reason to complain that the principle of freedom of speech had been rendered impotent?

XI. Troubles in the Aftermath of the Unfinished Democratic Revolution

The democratic revolution in most of the newly emerging nations resembles half-cooked rice, thus leaving many problems to be solved. The biggest problem has been that the lawmakers did not understand the true meaning and the major role of the laws they enacted. The crises caused by this problem can be stated as follows:

- 1) Because the majority of the people know nothing about law, the regulations governing daily operations are not observed.
- 2) Because the laws exist in form only, the tremendous gap between legal terms and their application to the real situation cannot be closed. This gives rise to a feeling of disillusionment and a mood of self-defeat on the part of many intelligent people, who complain that the "law has become useless." These wise men and women should have become activists in promoting rule by law. But in the end, they became reckless, and were interested in playing a negative role by pouring cold water on the active contributors to rule by law.
- 3) In the face of this awkward situation, many people who were willing to join the struggle found it difficult to seek a way out of the impasse. True, to translate ideas on paper into reality calls for struggle. But how could a strategy be worked out for the struggle? At that time, there were champions who dared to present views that were different from others. Past facts show that they almost paid a high price for the viewpoints they wanted to uphold.

Regretfully, progress redeemed by this sacrifice was not very remarkable. The simple reason for this consequence is that the question of whether or not people were punished for making dissenting speeches at a time when a dissenting speech was regarded as a crime, and when the propaganda forum was entirely under the control of those in authority, obviously depended on the political beliefs and the quality of the leaders in power. Many people who wanted to do others justice suffered greatly because they did not realize this point. Later, some mistakes were corrected. But this correction affected only a few specific viewpoints and therefore had no binding effect on those in power who wanted to continuously punish people on charges of making new dissenting speeches. As for the masses, they usually were kept in the dark about what had happened (a result of the abridgment of public opinion by those in power) until related verdicts were reversed and announced. This is why they found it hard to understand what was really meant by alleged "reactionary speeches." They often concentrated their attention on determining whether or not a certain viewpoint was reactionary, while overlooking the contention as to whether people should be punished for making dissenting speeches--the crux of the problem. In short, this is a form of struggle to win freedom of speech through the expression of boldly dissenting speeches. Actually, this exercise of the right to speak out cannot be viewed as a struggle for the right to speak out. If we think so, we will spread the false impression that the people are already well aware of the meaning of freedom of speech and that all unsolved problems have been solved. This approach will prevent the people from focusing their attention on the truly crucial problem and from raising their political consciousness.

XII. The Best Way To Promote Freedom of Speech

As soon as we come to grips with this factual, historical, and probably unique point, we will be able to find solutions without too much difficulty. Since one of the root causes of our tragedy stems from our lack of experience in developing the principle of freedom of speech, we must try to make up for this inadequacy. Since the majority of people still do not understand its meaning and value, we should consider it an obligation to explain it. The meaning of the freedom of speech was unknown to us until we ourselves experienced the bitter taste of torture during the 10 years of catastrophe. We should pass on this personal experience to the public and explain it in a spirit of reasoning and persuasion to those who are unaware of such experiences. Continuing efforts must be made to win freedom of speech. The term "win" means to encourage more and more people to understand and grasp the true meaning of freedom of speech.

Actually, half-cooked rice is not all bad. I am afraid that few, however powerful they are, dare openly deny freedom of speech to the people. At the same time, it is really not easy to deprive the people of freedom of speech simply for the reason that they have discussed its meaning. If anyone insists on doing so, he will arouse more people to show concern for and study the problem of freedom of speech, he will risk condemnation by an increasing number of people who want to do others justice, and he will place in a difficult position those in power who want to go their own righteous way. Finally, once those falsely charged and sentenced are rehabilitated, the principle of freedom of speech will take deep root in the hearts of people, and the process of its realization will be

accelerated as soon as the broad masses of people come to grips with the principle of freedom of speech, instead of merely a specific viewpoint in this field.

XIII. Absurd Theory of Democracy

As everyone knows, one of the two principles of democracy is to adopt a resolution by majority vote, while the other is to protect the minority. However, these two principles sometimes are in conflict with each other, and they may place people in a predicament. If the majority adopts a resolution condemning the dissenting minority as a reactionary element to be imprisoned, what shall we do then?

This can be called an absurd theory of democracy. Experience tells us that this theory has led astray some people who subjectively profess to uphold but who actually betray democracy. It can be said that the survival of a reliable democratic system does not necessarily depend on the democratic sense of those in power but must count on the support of the majority of people who are well informed about democracy. For this reason, unless the majority can reasonably and wisely work out a relationship with the dissenting minority, democracy is apt to move in the wrong direction. The people, concerned that some people today still demonstrate an ultraleftist attitude toward what they call reactionary and harmful speeches, are never satisfied until they can sentence their adversaries to death. This is another fact that reminds us of the need to vigorously promote the principle of freedom of speech. No one should forget that further efforts must be made to strengthen the political-democratic base in our country. Mr Lu Xun said it well: "Our first mission in any battle is to defend our base. If we concentrate on attacking the enemy alone, we may be annihilated. Courage without strategy cannot be called courage." The base he referred to means a forum for the freedom of speech. If the majority of people fail to protect the viewpoints and the literary works they endorse, it naturally reveals that such a base is still far from completion. The same is true if they protect only those viewpoints and works they endorse but fail to defend other viewpoints and works with which they disagree. Therefore, our primary task is to build a base that can be defended. This should be treated as a matter of serious concern to us all. Although the work of explaining freedom of speech to the public is probably not very exciting, we must fulfill it on a solid basis, and work out a long-term plan for this purpose.

XIV. Courage and Wisdom

To make progress, man must first have courage. In promoting freedom of speech, we must resist the threat to suppress speech by force and must regard this as a contest of wills. All provisions of law, however unequivocally clear, and all political structures, however perfect, are static and cannot be activated except by the people's determination. So far, no one can guarantee that those in power will never abuse their power. In order to protect freedom of speech, we must make it clear to those in power who attempt to abuse this power that any move to abridge the right of citizens to speak out will meet with resolute resistance. We have no option open to us other than this. The provisions of law can function as a rallying point for people cherishing democracy to increase

their vigilance and attention in this respect. Democracy is troublesome and cannot hold good forever. We have to spend all our time fighting for it, consistently working for it and protecting it. If we remain reticent and fail to protest openly the abridgment of the right of citizens to speak out, we will give the people the impression that we have acquiesced in defeat. When the majority of people are not yet ready to acquaint themselves with the meaning of freedom of speech, the minority who do must take a clearcut stand to defend this principle. Although their opposition stand may be outvoted by the majority, this protestation is valuable in that it can encourage the public, stimulate it to think, deepen its understanding of the principle of freedom of speech, and more or less force those in power to think twice before they take any action to suppress freedom of speech. This protestation is concerned mainly with whether those in power should suppress speech, and therefore it does not form a direct tie with other speech that is about to be outlawed. For this reason, this stand can easily hold the line. Needless to say, doing so also calls for courage. We must remember that in order to make good their vicious desire to enslave the people, those tyrants may embark on a reckless adventure. In this connection, should those of us who cherish democracy and are inspired by better and more decent ideals demonstrate a stronger fighting will to overcome our adversaries?

It can be said that autocracy is designed to take advantage of human weaknesses, while democracy is regarded as a system aimed at bringing into full play human strengths. A case in point is that it seems necessary to provide ordinary people who are endowed with common intelligence and courage with a principle--the most essential one--that they can easily comprehend and uphold without apprehension, a principle that is essential to the preservation of basic human rights and the program to broaden the prospect of democracy. This principle should be regarded as the groundwork for democracy as a whole, or the foundation on which a perfect democratic entity can be built and which is capable of surviving any tremors. In my opinion, this principle refers to freedom of speech.

XV. Choices

A review of the past shows that we have made some unwise choices with regard to certain major issues. The consequence was a disaster. By disaster, I mean that as time goes on, the losses resulting from wrong choices will become greater and those structures chosen by mistake will become more deeply rooted in society than ever. In other words, erroneous choices made in the past have enlightened us to the ironic fact that the more serious the mistakes, the harder it is to correct them; the mistakes usually cannot be corrected until they reach their saturation point. History sometimes resembles a narrow alley which provides no room for maneuver. Once we carelessly commit a mistake and go astray, we are afforded almost no chance to correct it until we follow the wrong way to the end or until we can make a new choice at an intersection. For example, that catastrophe that ended 3 years ago was detected 23 years ago and should have been stopped. In the process, however, it was not averted despite the efforts of many brave people. From this experience, we can draw the two following lessons: 1) Wisdom must be pooled at every crossroads of choice; 2) Once a choice is made, leeway must be left for future corrections. I am afraid that history will not give us another opportunity to commit that disastrous mistake again.

In the final analysis, these two lessons still have something to do with democracy. The democratic system is a wonderful concept that has the advantage of resilience, susceptibility to changes, the capacity to meet challenges and adjust itself, and the ability to avoid the dilemma that once we take a road by mistake, we will have to run out the course in its entirety. Aware of this point, we can now see more clearly what role democracy should assume in our current choice.

XVI. Relationship Between Democracy and Modernization

What is the relationship between democracy and modernization? At present some comrades hold, "Without democracy, modernization cannot be realized." I am delighted to say that this judgment is correct. An initial survey of our past practice shows that this slogan did play a positive role in reminding those who desire only a good life of the need to improve democracy. But judging it from the theoretical point of view, we feel that this slogan obviously merits our scrutiny. If this point is not clarified, there may be troubles in the days ahead. As a matter of fact, we are aware that some people do not agree with the popular call for taking a step forward toward democracy. For example, they do not endorse the call for promoting freedom of speech, although they really hope that our nation will become rich and strong. This is why we consider it necessary to discuss this matter at some length.

True, under the feudal autocratic system of the "gang of four," modernization stood absolutely no chance of realization. But we must know that the "gang of four" brand of the doctrine of dictatorship was the most extreme and most primitive form of tyranny, and that it proved to be inefficient. History tells us that there existed some relatively moderate but efficient forms of dictatorship, as well as similarly extremist but highly efficient forms of autocratic government. The realization of modernization under such tyrannical systems is considered to be not only possible but also more convenient and effective. As newly rising developed countries, Japan of the Meiji Restoration era and Germany under the Iron Chancellor Bismarck did not rely on a democratic system to achieve their goals. Hitler's Third Reich, undoubtedly one of the most extreme forms of dictatorship ever seen in history, quickly rose as an economic power to be reckoned with. The modern Soviet Union should in many ways be considered a qualified modern nation but by no means a democratic one, politically, despite the fact that its cultural policy toward the thinking public seems more liberalized than its Chinese counterpart under the control of the "gang of four." However, if freedom of speech is used as a yardstick, the situation there is ominous. On the other hand, although democracy in India is superior to Nazi Germany, it never seems to have any chance of developing its economy to a degree that merits the public's recognition. Although these examples are not universal, they really deserve our attention.

In fact, some people have consistently contended, both in public and in private, that dictatorship works better than democracy. In their view, this idea is particularly feasible in those economically backward countries desiring a fast economic takeoff--countries where an elite group of farsighted and powerful leaders can "herd sheep into ranches" with high-handed measures and can achieve greater success in this manner than any other countries full of constantly

changing opinions and uncontrollable demands from people who do not know where their interests lie. This contention used to be very popular, and undoubtedly it had something to do with our national tradition of showing no regard for the program to construct democracy. Comrade students of contemporary history point out: "During the nearly century-old democratic revolution carried out by the Chinese people, the voices demanding democratic freedom here always drowned out by the voices demanding affluence and a powerful army. Although many factors were behind such voices, they met with this same fate: they brought to China neither democratic freedom nor affluence and a powerful army."

First, in China, the sweeping reform proposal which enjoyed nationwide support was inspired by the harsh but inescapable fact of steadily weakening national power. Reforms usually became irresistible when the economy under the dictatorship became a big mess. The common desire of the reformists is an affluent and strong power. Among them were people with no democratic ideals.

Second, although many knowledgeable people who saw undemocratic practices on the political front as the cause of economic weakness strongly demanded political reform, they were divided as to the strategy for carrying it out. This weak point seemed fatal. At the beginning, the reform force was so powerful that it swept away all serious obstacles that stood in its way, and its success seemingly could come at any time. But in the end, the reform was shortlived, or aborted. In other words, the reform was impressive in the beginning but disappointing in the end, and it finally ran completely out of steam. This failure obviously had something to do with plans to be adopted and steps to be taken. Finally, even those reformists dedicated to democracy modified their stand by declaring that an affluent nation should come first and democracy second; the consolidation and development of democracy should come after the development of the economy. This is why democracy has suffered setbacks.

Although no one can deny that success stories of modernization without democracy are abundant in history, I want to present the following two critical views on this matter:

1) The economic development made possible by dictatorship is a painful process because it must be accompanied by cruel persecutions of the people; it is abnormal because it is interested only in vainglory at the expense of real prosperity; it tends to be shortlived because it gives no incentive to the spirit of human initiative. A lack of effective self-adjustment will lead to the steady strengthening of that increasingly outlandish machinery of dictatorship. At the height of his development, a military power will emerge to disrupt the development of the people's spiritual and material life. As the time goes on, it becomes stagnant and decadent. In order to survive, it might risk embarking on a foreign adventure or try to reluctantly maintain the status quo as an outwardly strong but inwardly weak power. Ultimately, it cannot escape the fate of self-destruction. In the end, all nations in history which counted on dictatorship to prosper and to achieve success have been unable to escape this fate. Today this law remains valid, although the cycle of its enforcement has been shortened. Gone are the days when dictatorships could be relied upon to achieve an amazing economic takeoff. The myth that dictatorship can produce

efficiency has also gone broke. It is no wonder that fewer and fewer people today are interested in this high-handed measure.

2) The following questions need to be clarified: Is mankind destined only to develop the economy? Or should it have other, loftier desires to be fulfilled? Democracy has not only the advantage of stimulating production but also other values. It exhibits human dignity, embodies human rights, and reflects an all-round, harmonious, and free development of human personality. This is not empty talk. For this reason, the achievement of economic progress at the expense of democracy will have a harmful impact on countless generations to come.

It must be pointed out that many people have tended to underestimate and even to deny the value of democracy and have regarded it as merely a tactic to stimulate the economy under certain specific conditions. As a result, an unusual feature of political life has loomed large in our country: Whenever the economy deteriorates, democracy gains momentum; once the health of the economy is restored, the "leftist" trend of thought resurges and democracy again suffers the cold treatment and/or frustrations. Many people have viewed democracy as an expediency and a limited counterbalance against overbearing monarchy. A review of the 20 years between the founding of new China and the downfall of the "gang of four" shows that dictatorship steadily became predominant in our life. I am afraid this was a problem that was not caused by talking about democracy too much or too little. Is the fact that many of our comrades have miscalculated the value of democracy sufficiently evident?

Democracy is a process. The existence of a close relationship between the development of democracy and the corresponding development of productive forces is an undeniable fact. But we must break with the mechanistic theory that a specific level of economic development should be matched by a corresponding level of government. Many wise people have told us that, in consideration of our current level of productive forces, the existing form of democracy in our country is sufficiently perfect, and that therefore any call for taking a step forward toward democracy is inappropriate because our urgent task is to develop the four modernizations program. I consider this conclusion too unconvincing.

History shows that in those countries in which democracy was first introduced, the level of productive forces was not high during the early stage of their development; the industrial revolution came to these countries after the establishment of democratic systems rather than before. On the other hand, many industrialized nations still retain their autocratic form of government, which has been strengthened rather than weakened as a result of industrialization. Take the socialist countries, for example. Yugoslavia as a developing country is more democratic than the Soviet Union as a superpower. A look at the Soviet Union itself reveals that it was more democratic under the leadership of Lenin than it is today. For this reason, we have no reason to believe that our current form of democracy has reached a point beyond which our present level of productive forces cannot manage, nor should we have reason to believe that as the economy develops further, our country will become more democratic instead of being more dictatorial. It is certain that a specific level of the economy can impose a limit on the development of politics. In any given situation, it is very

important to weigh many alternatives. Undemocratic political practices cannot be overcome as a result of economic growth. On the contrary, economic successes may sometimes cover up undemocratic practices or even encourage them behind the people's back.

XVII. Continue Earlier Discussion of Steps To Be Taken

What appropriate measures should be taken to handle the relationship between modernization and democracy under our country's current economic and cultural conditions? What ways should be devised to guarantee the exercise of the necessary social controls and fully encourage individual initiative? This is really a very complicated problem. It must be noted that an incompetent democracy is in no way better than an enlightened monarchy, and anarchy is almost as bad as fascist dictatorship. A scholar devoted to studying the Yugoslav socialist political and economic systems called the problem of properly handling the relationship between socialism and democracy a major problem of the 20th century.

Despite this, democracy must be promoted. Otherwise, we may relapse and forget all lessons drawn from history. In order to avoid the mistakes committed by our predecessors, we have no alternative but to strengthen democracy effectively. While avoiding hasty actions and nitpicking about everything, we must lay the firm groundwork for democracy in order to ensure the steady growth of democracy and make it move forward. For this reason, the authorities concerned are required to let the people truly enjoy political rights, the first of which is freedom of speech. These are the most elementary rights that the people deserve, and [rights] that no power can deny. No one will have any reason to deny the people freedom of speech, no matter how obsessed he is with the strict form of discipline and actions of uniformity, and no matter how unwilling he is to give localities or individuals any more freedom of movement than necessary, because freedom of speech does not conflict in any way with any justified form of centralism, programs, discipline and the legal system (even if this justified form is not totally justifiable). At any rate, there is absolutely no clash of interest between freedom of speech and the desire to strengthen law and discipline, just as in the case of the "gang of four"-controlled China, where the policy of suppressing freedom of speech existed along with anarchy in the administrative field. Therefore we have no reason to deny freedom of speech to anyone. In other words, everyone concerned with the destiny of China must unify behind the common cause for freedom of speech, even though he may hold different views on other issues.

In the past, we have been unsuccessful in promoting democracy step by step. Many movements launched with the aim of expanding the scope of democracy ended with democracy suffering setbacks and with its destination falling behind its starting point. This consequence merits our attention. In my view, this consequence has resulted from our failure to accurately assess beforehand the problems that might arise from expanding the scope of democracy, and from our decision to expand the scope of democracy in response to complaints about the lack of democracy and problems arising therefrom. Although upcoming situations were well calculated beforehand, proponents of expansion of the scope of democracy might

waver and retreat from their original position in the face of protests coming their way. Democracy was often forgotten and gave way to expedient measures aimed at dealing with emergency situations. I am afraid that the steps to be taken were more important. At first, it was difficult to forecast measures to be taken with the aim of encouraging people to "freely air their views." When proponents of democracy were confronted with many protests resulting from the sudden promotion of democracy, they found it hard to determine which protests were normal responses and which were not, and which democratic measures should be upheld at all costs and which measures should be modified or even retracted. As a result, the original strong democratic current was in danger of splitting into two camps, with one side attributing the troubles to the inadequacy of democratic life, and the other complaining that democracy had gone too far. In the end, that faction originally not interested in democracy became noisier than ever. Under such circumstances, traditional ideas prevailed. By then, the people simply reasoned that no one could predict what would result if views were freely aired continuously. Since the situation was unpredictable, a decision was made to roll back the democratic movement, or the majority of its proponents, to the original track. Although this was not considered the most ideal step to be taken, past experience told them that this could be expected to be a reliable measure for bringing the situation under control. But in the final analysis an originally defensible democratic base was lost because some comrades insisted on mounting further offensives before they could consolidate their newly won gains, while others gave up all ground they had won in the face of real trouble. Consequently, the democratic spearhead was blunted, the old traditional forces regained their strength, and the people were forced once again to taste the bitter fruit of disillusionment. This past lesson teaches us that once a course is charted, the steps to be taken will hold the key to its success or failure. In my opinion, freedom of speech is the first step in that direction. Only by encouraging more and more comrades to get well prepared to take the first step in this direction can we have confidence in breaking the historical whirling current and steadily keep our voyage on course toward the bright future.

XIIV. Reform and Restriction of Power

Power is needed to carry out a profound reform. But an independent movement is necessary to bring the reform to a really successful conclusion. Only in this way can the reform continue to develop, or at least retain its strength after it is deprived of power so that it can regain power. This method is particularly necessary in countries where old traditions are deeply embedded and conservative forces are predominant. Any reform movement is doomed to failure if it loses the independent force which enables it to continue to grow without the protection of political power. Therefore, those dedicated to reform must try everything possible to preserve the power that makes a large-scale reform possible. Meanwhile, they must also concentrate on building a reliable base for reform. Apart from improving the efficiency of power, they must take necessary measures to prevent the abuse of power. In this connection, we must also point out: The reform group must try to survive and expand after it loses political protection, so that it can bring the reform to a successful conclusion. Only in this way can the main force of the reform preserve itself even when those opponents of reform and modernization return to power. In other words, the reform force can again

gain momentum through the adoption of normal procedures instead of extraordinary measures.

In the process of reform, its proponents should constantly remind themselves of this question: What will we do if power-wielders deviate from the correct course? What will we do if power is usurped by bad elements? Loss of power does not necessarily mean a loss of solutions, just as the availability of power cannot provide solutions for all problems. Pinning our hopes for success in this profound and long-term reform on the integrity of leaders and the ideal succession of power is like pinning our hopes for success in lifting a thousand dan by a single hair and putting all our bets on probability.

A nation without farsightedness cannot survive destruction. Reformists must impose necessary restrictions on the power engaged in reform. Doing so calls for farsightedness. Does power that we sincerely support need supervision? Can it be criticized? Should any steps be taken to prevent the abuse of power? These questions constitute an examination of our political farsightedness and a test of our political integrity. The left deviationist trend of thought thrived on the speculative mentality that long affected many people. Some people have deliberately adopted an ultraleftist stand that transcends principle. If they follow principle, they will feel unable to command respect and attention. If they fail to do something unusual, they will feel unable to impress the people with their seemingly firm stand and the line they have drawn between what to love and what to hate. These were cheap and pompous methods that they used in order to intimidate the honest, to deal blows to the sincere, and to frame those with rectitude. Historical facts invariably show that once political power is firmly established, its most dangerous enemies are those at the top. An openminded and law-abiding political opposition group is probably more valuable to society than those at the top. The policy of failing to stand up to perfidious attacks, betraying principle, and abandoning the legal system is one of self-destruction. A noted proverb from Lenin reads: A principled policy is the only correct policy. This point merits our great attention. Some comrades often contend that power restricted is power weakened; expansion of democracy means a scaling down of centralism. This is indeed a one-sided and metaphysical viewpoint. It must be noted that no power in the world is omnipotent; power should not be over-extended, so that it can attend to one thing without losing hold of another. In precise terms, restricting power means limiting its jurisdiction to a specific area. Although restrictions dilute its influence beyond that area, they can improve its efficiency in the area under its jurisdiction. In other words, consolidated and wisely defined power can demonstrate greater effectiveness.

This reasoning is simple but very important. If a criminal law carries penalties so severe that it serves only to scare rather than educate people, its life will be numbered by days. If people, especially good people, are indiscriminately labeled "counterrevolutionaries," in the end the genuine counterrevolutionaries will feel honored. Power is not unlimited. If those in power forget this point and mete out unnecessary punishment to people on the basis of personal animosity, they risk losing popular support for their decrees and increasing the crime rate. However, it is regretful to say that this situation often leads those in power to come up with the wrong conclusion that this situation was created by the toning down of law and discipline and an overemphasis on democracy. This

contention often provided them with additional opportunities to abuse power and do people harm. We must see that if power makes its presence where it is truly needed, it will enjoy support and cooperation and will make itself function effectively. If it makes its presence where it is not needed and if it does people harm, it will certainly encounter resistance. In this case, people will take dilatory, negative, and deceptive measures to render it impotent. The problem is that if power insists on making its appearance in places unwelcomed by the public, the people will resort to all sorts of tactics to render it impotent. Although in appearance it controls everything, actually it controls nothing.

Baruch Spinoza pointed out long ago: "Enforcement of the policy of punishing people for speaking out will have no effect on bad elements and fools. But it does have an effect on people who are honest and have integrity." This is true. Those who score personal gains at the expense of the public interest, who engage in speculation, who fool around doing nothing, and who are cunning, sophisticated, and apathetic will never say anything distasteful to their leaders. They have worked out a failure-proof strategy for dealing with all contingencies. They pledge support for all views expressed by their superiors in their presence but give them no credit behind their back. They can play games with their superiors and do everything possible to pass the buck around. When a showdown comes, they may bring their dilatory tactics into full play. The laws and discipline designed to punish people for speaking out will have no effect on them. Only the just and sincere people will suffer from the law penalizing dissenting speeches; only kindhearted people are angered by it. When good people are punished wrongly, the people will look at the laws with disdain, praise those capable of resisting the laws as heroes, call those capable of evading law and discipline wise men, have high regard for those capable of playing games with law and order, and condemn those who are faithful to discipline. These situations all result from the abuse of power. The functions of power will be rendered impotent if no steps are taken to restrict its jurisdiction.

The conclusion is very clear. The jurisdiction of power must be clearly defined with the aim of preventing people from abusing and usurping power and [with the aim] of making it function more efficiently. A declaration of the right of citizens to speak out should be included in any fundamental law. Some people often mistake the strengthening of law, discipline, and public security for the suppression of dissenting opinions. They prefer to betray the "public trust" in an attempt to demonstrate their "power." This approach may be effective for a while, but it will have a harmful effect on generations to come. Unless we consider it necessary to restrict the jurisdiction of power and view this as a complementary step in making power function efficiently, we become the victims of metaphysics.

XIX. Make the Principle of Freedom of Speech Take Root in the People's Hearts

This lengthy discussion can be boiled down to this point: We must give the people true freedom of speech, and we must make the principle of freedom of speech take root in the hearts of the people. Although the people can interpret democracy in different terms, although they may still have reservations and misgivings about democratic practices, and although they are divided over many

other issues, they must dispel any doubts concerning the necessity of promoting freedom of speech. I don't expect readers to agree with all the views I have expressed here, but I hope they will support the thesis on freedom of speech. Our most important task at present is to profoundly and consistently convey to the public the meaning of freedom of speech and make it take root in the hearts of the Chinese people.

A review of the past several years shows that the abridgment of free speech in China reached alarming proportions in terms of depth, breadth, and intensity. Have there been any theses on politics and science, have there been any official meetings or meetings in private life, have there been any speeches, even concerning children, have there been any persons ranging from nationally and internationally known scholars to illiterate peasants and people who could speak out, who have escaped the monster claws of punishment on charges of a slip of the tongue? Have there been any people who have not been physically or mentally tortured through the exercise of dictatorship in all its disguised forms and court trials and announcements of death sentences for nothing but a slip of the tongue? A statistical account of the number of people so punished during the past several years would reveal a figure that would jolt people into shock! Stupidity is now at its zenith, and disaster has reached a peak. The suffering people were thinking while the thinkers were oppressed. The sanguine dictatorial policy of sentencing people to prison terms on charges of a slip of the tongue, thinking their own way, and publishing unauthorized books has come to an end and has gone broke in the eyes of the Chinese people—especially the young generation. Today the Chinese people have just bade farewell to that catastrophe. The wounds remain to be healed; the blood is still there. The Chinese people bitterly hate dictatorship, cherish democracy, and condemn the fascist tactic of sentencing people to prison on charges of a slip of the tongue.

XX. "Let Us Dance Where the Lotus Grows"

I deeply believe that the promotion of freedom of speech marks the first step in the direction of promoting democracy. In the course of improving and developing our socialist democracy, we must give first place to freedom of speech. The best way to promote freedom of speech rests with our efforts to convey its meaning and value to the public profoundly and fully, and to persist in doing so until it takes root in the people's hearts. This is the only option open to us. Although patterns may change, although the objective world is full of complicated problems and difficulties, and although we should take prudent and steady measures to deal with many problems, we should always uphold our belief in freedom of speech.

Conclusion

We must cherish this idea of letting the principle of freedom of speech go deeper and deeper into the hearts of the people and make it take root in the soil of China through our tenacious and persistent efforts, so that our young generations to come can enjoy life in a land where they will feel free to think, say, and write whatever they wish. When that time comes, they may wonder: How could there have been a time when people were sentenced to death for saying something wrong?

WANG SHENG, POSSIBLE TAIWAN COUP DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 6, Jun 81 pp 34-35

[Article by You Xin [1890 1800]: "The Possibility of Wang Sheng's Launching a Coup"]

[Text] In Taiwan Wang Sheng first held the post of president of the Political Staff College and later, after more than 10 years as an executive officer of the General Political Department of the Ministry of Defense, attained the rank of general and assumed the directorship of the General Political Warfare Department. In recent years he has held great power.

Wang Sheng's zi [an alternate name assumed upon reaching manhood] is Huaxing. He is from Jiangxi Province. His "actual" age is 67 and he has been married 3 times. His first wife was a woman from the Jiangxi countryside. Later he married Hu Xiangdi. Miss Hu bore Wang Sheng three sons (Gongtien, Butien, and Xiaotien, the three of which have successively arranged to leave the country, ostensibly as reporters for CH'ING-NIEN CHAN-SHIIH PAO [YOUNG WARRIOR], the paper put out by the General Political Warfare Department, and attend the University of Tennessee in the U.S.) and one daughter (Xiaodi, a graduate of the College of Chinese Culture now in Taiwan working in the entertainment industry). When Wang Sheng was the president of the Political Staff College, Hu Xiangdi was a physical education instructor at the school. She worked there until she passed on in 1955. Hu Xiangdi, loved to gamble, but her demeanor was straightforward and enthusiastic, and she generally left others with a good impression. Not long after Hu Xiangdi died, Wang Sheng took another wife, Xiong Huiying. Xiong Huiying bore Wang Sheng one son (Litien, who is presently studying at a Taiwan branch of an American university). Xiong Huiying is a Christian with an abiding interest in power politics. Around others she will one moment speak of Christ and the next of politics. People regard her as "crazy." Xiong Huiying's former lover is the present director of Jiu Guo Tuan [National Salvation Corps], Fan Zhenqiu, and so relations between Wang Sheng and Fan Zhenqiu are extremely bad.

Wang Sheng attended a village school and has not received much modern education. It is said that at one time he was a tailor. When Jiang Jingguo was a government specialist in Jiangxi Province, Wang Sheng began following him. Later he entered the Central Cadre Training School. Wang Sheng is an old cadre of Jiang Jingguo.

The political ambition of Wang Sheng is quite evident. Among those in political circles in Taiwan, clearly the one most actively creating a faction and forming small groups is Wang Sheng. In recent years Wang Sheng has actively extended his influence beyond the military. For example, Liang Xiachuang, a cadre in Wang Sheng's political

warfare network, has taken over as Director of the Nationalist Party Organizational Work Committee (the son-in-law of Liang Xiaohuang, Zhou Yinglong, is the director of the Cultural Work Committee), Bai Wanxiang is the director of the Mainland Work Committee, and Wu Baohua and Mei Jangling are respectively the general managers of the Chinese Television Service [Zhonghua Dienshi Gongsi] and the China Television Company [Zhongguo Dienshi Gongsi]. After the U.S. and Taiwan broke official relations, the "Wang National Restoration Group" was established to simultaneously direct the work of every unit of the party and government administration inside and outside of the country. It is personally led by Wang Sheng.

In the area of propaganda Wang Sheng is hard at work molding an image of himself. His "cultural muscle," such as Feng Huxiang (a professor at Dong Hai University, presently active as a writer for Jiang Jingguo), Li Weicheng (the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Department of Zheng Zhi University), and Ju Wenlin (a researcher at the Graduate School of International Relations of Zheng Zhi University) are doing propaganda work for him everywhere. LIEN HO PAO [United Daily News] owner, Wang Xiwu, follows a Wang Sheng line. Among Taiwan's journals and newspapers, with the exception of CH'ING-NIEN CHAN-SHIH PAO, LIEN HO PAO is the one most forcefully supporting Wang Sheng. (This paper is already controlled by members of the political work network. For example, the paper's vice-president, Jang Zuojin, and the deputy chief editor, Ya Xuan, are graduates of Wang Sheng's Political Warfare College.) In January of 1980, a LIEN HO PAO supplement gave the greater portion of its copy space on two successive days to the article "Jiang Jun Ling" [General's Orders] written by the hired political work writer, Ju Xining. This article went about deifying Wang Sheng, calling him a "divine wind" descended to earth. It was a strange article which took the adoration of an individual to an extreme. This article is generally viewed as preparing public opinion for Wang Sheng's future "ascension to the throne." At the same time this article is considered to have been a "test balloon" released by Wang Sheng in order to see what sort of reaction it evoked. Little did he know that the reaction would be one of extreme distaste. All the telephone calls received by Jang Zuojin and Ya Xuan who had arranged for the publication of the article were questioning and vituperative.

Wang Sheng's thinking is extremely conservative and feudal, emphasizing the political leader and ideological control, and opposing Western-style democracy. He has never advocated using young talent. In regard to those who advocate political democratization, be they Taiwanese or from the mainland, he attacks them all without exception. Juan Jaoshu's TAIWAN RIBAO [TAIWAN DAILY] was relatively free in its speech, and so was forcibly purchased by Wang Sheng; Yu Jizhong's CHUNG-KUO SHIH-PAO [CHINA TIMES] was relatively open in its speech, and so met with a purge by Wang Sheng in which several outstanding editors and reporters were forced into leaving their posts. Because Chu Sungqiu, the former director of the Nationalist Party Cultural Work Committee, permitted the paper to report the arguments of the defendants at the time of the investigation of the "Beautiful Island Incident" [Meilidao Shijian], he aroused the ire of Wang Sheng and was removed from his position.

Wang Sheng is not particular about the means he employs to attack his political enemies (for example, the various skills he employed against the late director of the Naval Political Warfare Department, Jiang Guodong). His suppression of democratic elements is merciless. The "Beautiful Island Incident" was an action in which Wang Sheng takes pride, but unfortunately for him the verdict on the episode was reversed by the people in their voting during the election at the end of last year. The "Ji Feng" clique which takes as its special position and responsibility the persecution of democratic elements is manipulated and supported from behind the scenes by Wang Sheng.

Wang Sheng knows that people view him as "conservative" and "inflexible," and don't have a very good opinion of him. Because of this, when he meets people, he always speaks of himself as being "open minded." His wife, Xiong Huiying, is always accosting guests and saying, "Does our Mr Wang look stubborn to you?" But facts in the end remain facts, and those persons who have come into contact with Wang Sheng indeed fail to sense that Wang Sheng has any areas of "open mindedness."

Recently Wang Sheng's health has not been good and his face has been pale. In order to aid recuperation, he has already as much as possible reduced the amount of time he works and receives visitors. Not long ago, word had it that Wang Sheng had cancer. This caused Wang Sheng great distress and he issued denials everywhere. Recently hearsay has also had it that Wang Sheng has a kind of cirrhosis of the liver. But regardless of Wang Sheng's state of health, it is a fact that his power is continuously expanding.

"Whether or not Wang Zheng will launch a coup" has already become an increasingly common topic of daily conversation. Especially after Chun Dohuan, the South Korean soldier, seized power in a coup, those knowledgable have been greatly worried about it. Analyzing it, the possibility of Wang Sheng launching a coup is quite good because:

1. Wang Sheng possess great desire for power and political ambition.
2. Wang Sheng is very dissatisfied with many of the present systems and policies in Taiwan, believing them to be excessively "mild," "free," and "disorganized."
3. The power of others is inconsequential. The leader of the Enlightened Faction [Kaiming Pai], Li Huan, has already fallen from the stage. Sun Yunxuan, Jiang Yenshi, and Xie Dongmin are without power bases. Although Jiang Jingguo's second son is very interested in politics and his political activity has continuously increased, still all he has hold of at present is a part of the intelligence network. Lin Xianggong is capable, but because he is Taiwanese, he doesn't dare openly expand his influence in order to avoid raising fears.
4. Wang Sheng has joined hands with Minister of Defense Gao Kuiyuan. This is an amazing and important point. Minister of Defense is a civil post with less influence with the military than the Chief of the General Staff. But because the Chief of the General Staff, Sung Jangzhi, is from a navy background, he has relatively little influence on a military which takes the army to be its major component. Furthermore, Sung Jangzhi is a self-interested political soldier well versed in the ways of "yielding to protect yourself" and this allowed old army hands and Defense Minister Gao Kuiyuan to enjoy a relatively greater influence on the military. The relationship between the professional soldiers and the political workers should be one of mutual supervision, the effect being to check the system. This was the original idea behind establishing the political work system. The reasoning is that by simply relying on the strength of the political workers, you could avoid the advent of any "serious matters." But this goal of mutual restraint has been undermined by the conspiring association of Wang Sheng and Gao Kuiyuan. Gao Kuiyuan is already at retirement age and so Wang Sheng intends to advise Jiang Jingguo to extend Gao Kuiyuan's appointment. Gao Kuiyuan realizes that there is a closer relationship between Wang Zheng and Jiang Jingguo than between himself and Jiang Jingguo, and so is currying favor with Wang Sheng. The joining of forces by Wang Sheng and Gao Kuiyuan has finally given Wang Sheng the capability to mobilize and direct troops.

Once Jiang Jingguo dies or is unable to govern, a coup could possibly take place. But while Jiang Jingguo heads the government, although a coup is not entirely impossible, the change of one is not great. This is because the important field officers (such as the group commanders) all come from a elite officers corps and so are very close to Jiang Jingguo and loyal to him.

In recent years, except for being in poor health, it can be said that Wang Sheng has been in high spirits. Last year he was selected to the Central Standing Committee of the Nationalist Party. At present the position he most covets is Party Secretary General. With a firm grasp of the military and a firm grasp of the party, the time for Wang Sheng to "become King" is near.

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